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ABSTRACT

This issue, written in English and French, focuses on the increasing role of English in Switzerland, as it affects both the general public and the education system. The articles include the following: "The Function of English in Swiss Advertisement" [written in French] (Marc Bonhomme); "Unpacking before Take-Off: English for Swiss Purposes in Code-Mixed Advertisement Texts for 14-30-Year Olds" (Iris Schaller-Schwaner); "Anglicisms in Media Language in German-Speaking Switzerland" [written in French] (Stephanie Plaschy); "The Swiss Debate on Foreign Language Instruction: Reflections on Self-Regulation in the Swiss Community" [written in French] (Dunya Acklin Muji); "Embedded English: Integrating Content and Language Learning in a Swiss Primary School Project" (Daniel Stolz and Tessa Meuter); "What's Wrong with Our Swiss Students' English? An Analysis of Advanced Learners' Written Productions" (Maureen Ehrensberger-Dow and Chris Ricketts); "English in Switzerland: Is It Legal?" (Silvia Dingwall); and "Swiss English Teachers and Euro-English: Attitudes toward a Non-Native Variety" (Heather Murray). (AS)

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bulletin vals-asla
numéro 77

Heather Murray (Ed.)

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Avant-propos

Après les numéros 71 et 73, consacrés respectivement au français et à l'italien langues secondes, Heather Murray propose dans cette première livraison de l'année 2003 une série de contributions sur l'anglais en Suisse. Ce numéro 77 fait donc partie de la série consacrée à l'enseignement et aux pratiques, en tant que L2, des langues nationales et de l'anglais, série qui s'achèvera avec un numéro consacré à l'allemand langue seconde (sortie prévue au printemps 2004, No 79).

Le comité de lecture pour ce numéro était composé de Mesdames et Messieurs:

Kirsten ADAMZIK

Claudine BROHY

Jean-François DE PIETRO

Silvia DINGWALL

Laurent GAJO

Georges LÜDI

Marc MATTER

Marinette MATTHEY

Jürg NIEDERHAUSER

Eva ROOS

Iwar WERLEN

Nous les remercions vivement.

Ce numéro propose en outre les comptes-rendus de deux ouvrages:

- Yanaprasart, Patchareerat (2002). *Dimension socioculturelle dans la communication professionnelle – le cas du contexte franco-thaï*. Berne: Peter Lang (compte-rendu de Chaké Makardidjian).
- Blanche-Benveniste, Claire, Rouget, Christine & Sabio, Frédéric (Ed.). (2002). *Choix de textes de français parlé. 36 extraits*. Paris: Honoré Champion; coll. Bibliothèque de l'Institut de linguistique française, Les français parlés N°5 (compte-rendu de Thérèse Jeanneret).

Marinette MATTHEY

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Foreword

Heather MURRAY

Like many other societies at the beginning of the 21st century, Swiss society is having to come to terms with English as part of economic and cultural globalisation. This means coming to terms with:

- being surrounded by a growing flood of English in print, audio and video media;
- giving greater priority to English instruction in the school system, with everything this implies for Swiss national languages;
- hearing and reading an increasing number of English loanwords in the local language.

On the individual level, it frequently means having to acquire competence in English because this represents a considerable advantage on the job market; on the governmental level, it means having to learn to use English for representational purposes, e.g. on federal internet sites and in diplomacy.

Much as the inhabitants of other countries around the world, we here in Switzerland are subjected to an ever-swelling tide of English produced both within and outside the country. We encounter English words and expressions in newspapers, on Swiss radio and television, in conversations with friends and in graffiti. English is also commonly used for commercial purposes, in both product names and advertising. The use of English product names (e.g. *'Juice'* instead of *Apfelsaft, jus de pommes, succo di mele,* etc.) is both politically and linguistically interesting in a quadrilingual country. Although it may or may not be a politically correct solution, English obviously sells.

This raises the topic of English in advertising. The first two articles in this volume deal with the role of English in Swiss advertisements. In the first one, **BONHOMME** analyzes examples from print media in the three major linguistic regions, identifying more functions for the language than have previously been described and showing how English operates on several levels at the same time. In the second article, **SCHALLER-SCHWANER** focuses on a series of billboard advertisements in which deliberately incorrect (and therefore amusing) English translations of Swiss idioms were produced to attract the attention of Swiss teenagers. Part of the effectiveness of these advertisements

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lies in a type of insider misuse of English, which both strengthens the identity of those whom it is aimed at, and at the same time excludes other groups.

The question of exactly who is excluded and who is included by the use of English in Switzerland has not yet been answered empirically. However, close observation of the popular press may contribute to an answer. In her article, **PLASCHY** summarizes the findings of four university theses on linguistic borrowing from English in the German-Swiss press, providing information on frequency of occurrence, use by topic area, and word type, as well as insights into journalists' motivation for using anglicisms.

Although English has made its mark on the lexicon of the national languages, as far as language instruction is concerned, it is still a foreign language in Switzerland. Because of the economic and social advantages it can confer on those who know it, English is often fervently desired as a primary school subject, particularly by parents. The specific issue of whether English should be allowed to precede a second Swiss national language at school has had political repercussions, and has been widely discussed in the Swiss media and political arena. This is the subject of **ACKLIN MUJI's** article, which provides a praxeological analysis of the public debate over English and other languages at school.

Whereas the first four articles in this volume deal with aspects of English in Swiss society as a whole, the second group of articles narrows its scope to report and reflect on English in Swiss education. **STOTZ and MEUTER** report on the results of a two-year study evaluating *Schulprojekt 21*, the partial immersion project in Zurich primary schools whose launching triggered so much of the public debate on the status of English in Switzerland. In their evaluation, the authors look at teachers' implementation of the method chosen as well as learner and teacher classroom behaviour. They also draw conclusions about the nature and length of exposure to English needed to attain the objectives set by the project.

At the other end of the education continuum, **EHRENSBERGER-DOW and RICKETTS** present the results of research on the errors of Swiss students with German or Italian as L1, who were nearing the end of their studies to become English translators. One part of the study investigated the error detection and attribution abilities of three types of evaluator – an expert instructor, non-native speaker peers and automatic error-checking software – while another part focused on a qualitative analysis of errors, with an eye to

improving teaching for advanced students who are being trained to work as translators and editors.

English is also used extensively in many other fields at Swiss universities. However, due to the mainly national scope of legal systems, one would not expect English to be in great demand in Swiss university law faculties. But to what extent is Swiss law still national, and to what extent is it being influenced by European and Anglo-American law? **DINGWALL** presents the results of a study conducted among law students and practicing lawyers, in which she found evidence for an increasing use of and a greater need for English among Swiss legal practitioners.

According to a poll conducted last year by the *Organisation Internationale pour la Francophonie*, 53% of Deutschschweizer, 45% of Romands and 25% of Ticinesi now say they can communicate competently in English, making it the most widely spoken second language in Switzerland. This naturally raises the rather delicate question of whether English might function as a Swiss lingua franca. With even higher percentages of English competence in the northern European countries, English as a lingua franca in Europe is actually more of a fact than a remote possibility, and its widespread use could lead to the emergence of a new non-native variety. In the final article in this volume, **MURRAY** reports on a survey of Swiss English teachers that was designed to capture their attitudes to this new variety and also to changes in the status of native speakers that such a variety would entail.

In closing this brief introduction, it is worth mentioning that the articles published here do not provide a complete picture of English as a second language in Switzerland; other domains where English is important have gone unmentioned. English has, for the last 20 years, played a major role in many Swiss institutions and companies offering adult education courses. More recently, bilingual English secondary and vocational school projects have been set up in a number of cantons, and are approaching a stage where evaluation is in order. Many employees in Swiss firms have also had to become accustomed to English as the new company language. Furthermore and finally, the Swiss government has adjusted to the greater demand for information in English by including English in many of its websites and publications, while at the same time offering advice on how to avoid the overuse of English words in non-English texts. These four examples certainly deserve coverage in this volume of the *Bulletin*, and would have rounded out

the picture of English in Switzerland portrayed here, were it not for deadline pressures.

It remains for me to thank the authors for their cooperation on this project and the permanent editorial staff of the *Bulletin* for their valuable advice and help.

Les fonctions de l'anglais dans la publicité suisse

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In diesem Artikel wird – mittels Beispielen aus der Presse der West- und Deutschschweiz sowie des Tessins – die Rolle der englischen Sprache in der Werbung für Schweizer Produkte analysiert. Diese Rolle ist sehr komplex und kann nur anhand eines funktionellen Modells der Werbesprache ermittelt werden. Das Modell zeigt, dass das Englische teils eine denotative und in der Präsentation der Produkte eine wichtige konnotative Funktion hat. Auf der Ebene der Kommunikation mit dem Schweizer Zielpublikum erfüllt das Englische vor allem eine phatische und internationale Funktion; auch dient es als lingua franca. Der zweite Teil des Artikels beschäftigt sich mit der Beziehung zwischen dem Englischen und den nationalen Sprachen in der Schweizer Werbung. Diese Beziehung beruht auf einem gewissen funktionellen Ausgleich: das Englische überwiegt auf der Ebene der globalistischen Strategie und der Aufwertung der Werbeanzeigen, die nationalen Sprachen dagegen sind unerlässlich auf der Ebene der identitätsschaffenden Strategie und der Nähe zum Zielpublikum (territoriale, spielerische und erklärende Funktion).

1. Introduction

Quand on considère les médias suisses, il apparait clairement que c'est dans la publicité que l'anglais se développe le plus. Il suffit d'ailleurs de feuilleter *Le Roman(d) de la pub* (Chavannes et al., 1994), chronique richement illustrée de 65 ans de publicité suisse, pour constater l'anglicisation croissante des annonces depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Cette anglicisation suscite des réactions contrastées dont fait état un article de *L'Hebdo* (14-12-1995) ironiquement intitulé «The geniales publicités of chez nous». À l'hostilité de son auteur, Yves Lassueur, envers l'anglais répond la franche approbation de certains directeurs du marketing de sociétés suisses, mais aussi la position plus nuancée d'autres acteurs socio-économiques.

La recherche universitaire s'est assez peu intéressée à l'anglicisation de la publicité suisse. Sur ce sujet, on ne trouve guère que deux ou trois articles et quelques mémoires de licence rédigés dans le cadre d'un cursus en linguistique anglaise. Ces travaux présentent globalement trois axes de recherches. Les uns portent sur les caractéristiques de l'anglais publicitaire suisse. Ainsi, à partir d'un vaste corpus (616 annonces tirées de *Facts* et de *Schweizer Woche*), Andrey (1996) dégage les principaux traits syntaxiques, lexicaux et thématiques des occurrences anglaises relevées dans ces annonces, avant d'opérer une comparaison avec l'usage romand. D'autres travaux étudient la

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réception de l'anglais publicitaire par la population suisse. Par exemple, se basant sur sept annonces parues dans *La Tribune* et *Le Nouveau Quotidien*, Collaud (1994) examine les capacités d'un échantillon de lecteurs à en traduire les slogans anglais, tout en analysant leurs réactions à ces slogans. Rash (1996) effectue une enquête similaire auprès de 85 personnes sur leur compréhension d'expressions anglaises utilisées dans des publicités alémaniques. Enfin, d'autres études, comme celles de Cheshire et Moser (1994) ou de Lugrin (2001), se focalisent sur les fonctions de l'anglais dans la publicité suisse. Fonctions qui sont, selon eux, de deux sortes: linguistiques, quand l'anglais est compris comme tel et assume un rôle informatif; symboliques, lorsque l'anglais n'est pas forcément compris par les lecteurs et qu'il sert surtout à suggérer des stéréotypes.

Le but de notre étude est d'approfondir ces premières réflexions sur la fonctionnalité de l'anglais dans la publicité suisse. Le recours à celui-ci y répond en effet à des motivations beaucoup plus complexes qu'on ne le pense communément. Par ailleurs, l'examen de l'anglais publicitaire ne peut se faire indépendamment de celui de l'emploi des langues nationales dans les annonces, dans la mesure où s'instaure toute une dialectique entre ces différents systèmes linguistiques. Afin de saisir l'ampleur de cette dialectique, nous nous appuierons sur un large corpus: celui fourni par la presse romande (principalement *L'Hebdo* et *L'Illustré*) et alémanique (*Schweizer Illustrierte*), avec quelques ouvertures sur la presse tessinoise (*Azione, Corriere del Ticino*). En outre, pour cerner de plus près les rôles de l'anglais dans la publicité helvétique, nous limiterons nos investigations aux produits suisses[1], ce qui nous permettra de répondre précisément à la problématique posée: pourquoi recourir à une langue étrangère pour promouvoir des produits nationaux auprès d'un public lui-même national?

2. Modèle fonctionnel du langage publicitaire

L'examen du rôle de l'anglais dans la publicité suisse ne peut s'effectuer que sur la base d'un modèle fonctionnel du langage publicitaire. Globalement, si l'on utilise la terminologie de Watzlawick *et alii* (1972), celui-ci met en jeu deux grandes séries de fonctions:

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1 Ce choix explique que l'on ne trouvera pratiquement pas d'annonces pour les cigarettes ou les automobiles dans notre corpus. Sur les publicités ayant recours à l'anglais dans la presse helvétique, 30,8% concernent des marques suisses selon les statistiques de Cheshire et Moser (1994), chiffre qui monte à 45,4% selon les statistiques d'Andrey (1996).

- Les unes concernent le «contenu» des annonces, à savoir les éclairages que ces dernières apportent sur les produits à promouvoir. Pour ce faire, le langage peut en exposer explicitement les caractéristiques – réelles ou supposées, endossant une *fonction dénotative*. Celle-ci se spécifie en un certain nombre de sous-fonctions: désignation de la marque et de ses produits *(sous-fonction dénominative)*; mise en évidence des éléments saillants des produits *(sous-fonction thématique)* et développement de leurs prédicats qualitatifs ou actantiels *(sous-fonction explicative)*. Dans une démarche davantage empathique et subjective, le langage peut introduire plus ou moins implicitement des processus de symbolisation dans la communication publicitaire. Il est alors possible de parler de *fonction connotative* (au sens de Barthes, 1964), laquelle est de deux sortes. Soit le langage injecte des valeurs archétypales ou socioculturelles sur les produits présentés. Soit le recours à telle ou telle langue jugée valorisée déclenche par lui-même un processus de positivation.
- D'autres fonctions concernent la «relation» que les responsables de la communication publicitaire établissent avec le public. Celle-ci est très aléatoire du fait que les annonces s'adressent à des destinataires anonymes qui ne sont pas forcément disposés à les recevoir. Tantôt cette relation est personnelle, liée à l'interaction du message publicitaire avec chaque récepteur. Il s'agit notamment de provoquer le contact avec ce dernier, en attirant son attention *(fonction phatique)*, et de le séduire langagièrement *(fonction ludique)*. Tantôt le discours publicitaire instaure une relation intégrant le récepteur dans un cadre collectif: ancrage sur sa communauté native *(fonction territoriale)*; communication unifiée dans un espace national plurilingue *(fonction de lingua franca)*; ouverture sur un espace transcendant les frontières *(fonction internationale)*.

En rien exhaustives, ces fonctions attachées au langage publicitaire contribuent chacune à son potentiel de persuasion. De plus, loin d'être autonomes, elles s'entremêlent constamment dans la transmission médiatique des annonces. Entre autres, si la fonction connotative valorise les produits, elle a également des répercussions relationnelles, en ce qu'elle tend à transférer cette valorisation sur le récepteur, bonifié à son tour par l'achat/consommation des produits en question. De même, si la fonction territoriale resserre la communication sur l'espace culturel du récepteur, elle connote fréquemment d'une façon positive les produits inclus dans cet espace.

Sur la base de ce modèle fonctionnel, deux questions fondamentales se posent pour l'anglais publicitaire en Suisse:

1) Lesquelles des fonctions énumérées précédemment celui-ci recouvre-t-il?

2) Plus largement, quelle place occupe l'anglais par rapport aux langues nationales sur le marché publicitaire suisse?

3. Le rôle de l'anglais dans les publicités pour produits suisses

3.1. Au niveau du contenu

L'anglais joue un rôle variable selon que l'on considère son fonctionnement dénotatif ou connotatif.

3.1.1. Une fonction dénotative ciblée

Dans la présentation des produits, l'anglais est essentiellement utilisé comme moyen d'ancrage référentiel, occupant des positions limitées sur la spatialité des annonces, mais importantes stratégiquement. Il assume alors deux sous-fonctions:

- *Une sous-fonction dénominative.* L'anglais apparait dans la sphère désignative des produits suisses, généralement en position de verrouillage des annonces, en association avec le nom des marques, ce qu'a observé Cordey (1995). Tantôt l'anglais dénomme la catégorie de produits entrant dans le champ de la marque: [1] «Vögele shoes»... Tantôt il indique la localisation géographique de celle-ci: [2] «Rausch from Switzerland»... Tantôt il baptise le produit lui-même, à travers une microdescription orientée positivement, ce qui lui confère une portée persuasive: [3] «Quick Soup» de Knorr... Dans ce cas, en se présentant comme un désignateur rigide dont la portée dénotative reste constante à travers sa diffusion commerciale, la dénomination anglaise devient consubstantielle à l'identité des produits concernés.

- *Une sous-fonction d'ancrage thématique.* Au niveau du rédactionnel des annonces, l'anglais se fixe souvent sur le pivot thématique autour duquel l'argumentation se développe. Ce pivot thématique revêt généralement la forme d'un technolecte énumérant les principales composantes du produit décrit. Ainsi en est-il dans cette annonce pour les machines à café Jura Impressa, dans laquelle les parties techniques en anglais sont en position

de sujet et marquées en gras par l'annonceur, fournissant les balises de lecture du texte:

[4] Das **Alu Frame Design** entzückt das Auge. Der Hauch einer Berührung genügt, und die **Sensitive Touchscreen Technology** führt Sie zum ultimativen Kaffee-Erlebnis – Touch and go! Das **Aroma Select** schmeichelt mit 36 verschiedenen Kaffeespezialitäten à la Carte dem Gaumen. Und die **Internet Connectivity** eröffnet neue Dimensionen des Genusses. Lassen Sie sich jetzt im Fachhandel begeistern. Jura Elektroapparate AG.

3.1.2. Une fonction connotative prédominante

Beaucoup plus développée que la fonction dénotative, la fonction connotative de l'anglais publicitaire recouvre l'ensemble des composantes langagières des annonces, y compris à l'occasion celles que l'on vient de voir, même si on la trouve surtout dans les slogans. Cette fonction connotative a été décrite par les analystes de l'anglais publicitaire sous des appellations diverses: «language display» (Eastman & Stein, 1993), «fonction symbolique» (Haarmann, 1989; Cheshire & Moser, 1994)... Elle consiste dans le fait que, par la valeur attribuée à la langue anglaise et à son univers, l'utilisation de celle-ci suffit pour valoriser les produits proposés. Concrètement, cette fonction connotative de l'anglais repose sur la manipulation publicitaire de stéréotypes socioculturels[2]. Les uns injectent sur les marques suisses l'image positivée de l'*american way of life*: [5] «Thomy. Pouletschenkel American Style»... D'autres stéréotypes valorisants sont directement liés à l'anglais, connoté comme la langue du business: [6] «PKZ. Cool Affairs», de la performance: [7] «Sector. No limits», ou du star-système: [1] «Vögele shoes. Big star». Dans d'autres occurrences, l'anglais connote la jeunesse: [8] «Thomy. Pour Fish et Kids» ou la modernité: [9] «Innovation cannot be stopped» (Ruag). Récurrents dans les annonces suisses, ces stéréotypes conventionnels visent une double efficacité pour la persuasion publicitaire. D'un côté, par leur fort pouvoir suggestif, ils permettent une infra-argumentation à propos des produits présentés. Ils offrent en effet du prêt-à-persuader difficile à réfuter qui entremêle, dans une mise en scène idéalisée, l'attrait de la langue, de ses valeurs, ainsi que celui des produits promus, cela en se dispensant de tout raisonnement. D'un autre côté, ces stéréotypes sont tellement puissants dans nos représentations communes qu'ils n'impliquent pas forcément une compréhension de la langue qui les exprime. Comme l'ont noté plusieurs observateurs (Collaud, 1994; Bajwa, 1995...), même les récepteurs suisses qui ne savent pas l'anglais sont

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2 Une telle manipulation des flux culturels définit la publicité projective (Cathelat, 1987).

très sensibles à ses connotations positives. Celles-ci leur procurent en effet des valeurs commodes pour la construction de leur propre identité psychosociale, ce en quoi ces connotations comportent aussi une orientation relationnelle non négligeable.

3.2. Au niveau de la relation

Sur le plan de la relation avec le public-cible, l'utilisation publicitaire de l'anglais répond principalement à quatre fonctions.

3.2.1. Deux fonctions interactives

Si l'on met à part la dimension relationnelle des connotations vues précédemment, l'anglais alimente l'interaction entre les annonces et la réception personnelle de chaque lecteur par deux fonctions inégales:

- *Une forte fonction phatique.* Celle-ci est due à l'abondance de l'anglais dans les slogans. Par leur caractère idiolectal et leur graphisme à forte vi/lisibilité, les slogans sont les constituants linguistiques qui favorisent d'emblée le contact des lecteurs avec les publicités. Or en injectant dans leurs slogans une langue à la mode comme l'anglais, les annonceurs suisses tentent de renforcer l'impact et la mémorisation de ces derniers. Dans beaucoup de publicités, l'anglais apparait soit en position d'accroche, fournissant la devise du produit: [10] «Workstation» (Grill Imperial de Koenig). Soit en position de phrase d'assise, explicitant la devise de la marque: [11] «Odlo. Functional Fashion». Soit, comme dans une annonce pour les magasins Manor, un slogan anglais ([12] «Easy living») s'étale en première page d'un insert publicitaire sous forme de livret. De tels slogans anglais stimulent l'attention du public, tout en exerçant une proaction sur lui par leurs modalités fréquemment injonctives et interrogatives. Ainsi, dans une annonce Biopolis [13], à la phrase d'assise: «Meet your future» répond l'accroche: «Knockin'on heaven's door?». Cependant, en raison de leur extrême simplicité structurale, ces slogans contribuent à la pauvreté syntaxique de l'anglais publicitaire, observée entre autres par Greven (1982). Par ailleurs, du fait de leur emploi convenu dans de nombreuses annonces, ils suscitent un «effet matraquage», caractéristique de la publicité dite mécaniste (Cathelat, 1987).
- *Une fonction ludique épisodique.* Définie par ses manipulations rhétoriques sur le code lui-même, principalement au niveau des slogans, la

fonction ludique est relativement peu exploitée dans l'anglais publicitaire suisse[3]. Elle consiste en quelques calembours, qu'ils soient homonymiques: [14] «Tissot. Watch the world» [*Watch*: 1) Montre, 2) Veiller sur], ou paronymiques: [15] «Swatch Irony» [Collusion entre *iron* et *irony*]. Beaucoup plus rarement, les annonceurs suisses se risquent à des jeux parodiques sur l'anglais, comme dans cette publicité: [16] «Out of Africa. Jetzt bei Pfister»[4]. Ces jeux sur l'anglais sont très implicatifs sur le plan de la communication publicitaire, ne serait-ce que parce qu'ils renforcent la participation du récepteur à la co-construction du sens, tout en estompant l'enjeu économique du discours par une interaction en apparence gratuite. Mais ces jeux de langage risquent d'échapper à ceux qui ont une médiocre connaissance de l'anglais et de son univers culturel. D'où la prudence des publicitaires suisses à leur égard.

3.2.2. Deux fonctions transglossiques

L'anglais publicitaire met en relation, dans un espace langagier unifié, les annonces avec le public le plus large possible, cela à travers deux nouvelles fonctions.

- *La fonction de lingua franca* se manifeste lorsque, dans le cadre géographique de la Suisse, l'anglais permet de toucher à la fois la population romande, alémanique, italophone et romanche, par-delà les langues nationales. Faisant de l'anglais une supralangue qui transcende les particularismes régionaux, cette fonction lui confère en Suisse le nouveau statut effectif de langue véhiculaire, à la place de celui, officiel, de langue étrangère (Dürmüller, 1992). La fonction de lingua franca est nette dans tous les cas où une publicité à diffusion nationale recourt, même en partie, à l'anglais. Elle apparait notamment dans les campagnes publicitaires pour les sociétés dont l'activité s'exerce sur tout le pays. Ainsi, la compagnie d'assurance La Bâloise/Basler/La Basilese utilise le même slogan: [17] «In good company» à travers les régions linguistiques de la Suisse. De même, la Poste suisse – Swiss Post en lingua franca – propose les mêmes services en anglais ([18] «PostFinance Yellownet»...), quelle que soit la langue maternelle de ses clients. Le rôle véhiculaire de

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3 Sur les 1242 publicités romandes recourant à l'anglais dans le corpus de Cheshire et Moser (1994), seulement 25 se livrent à des jeux de mots dans cette langue, soit environ 2%.

4 Ce slogan, qui promeut une collection de meubles inspirés de l'Afrique, reprend le titre de l'un des films de Sydney Pollack.

l'anglais est également symptomatique dans les annonces pour la téléphonie mobile qui recourent largement à cette langue pour leur communication nationale: [19] «Natel Business» (Swisscom)... La fonction de lingua franca de l'anglais est en outre attestée dans certaines campagnes institutionnelles suisses, comme celles du Conseil de la Sécurité Routière ([20] «No drinks, no drugs, no problems») ou celles de l'Office fédéral de la santé publique contre le sida: [21] «The Power of love. Stop aids».

- Davantage globale, *la fonction internationale* de l'anglais apparait lorsque son utilisation dans les annonces suisses fait écho à des campagnes hors du territoire helvétique. C'est le cas pour les sociétés qui se placent sur un créneau européen ou planétaire. Ainsi, les publicités en anglais de la société Swatch qu'on trouve dans *L'Hebdo* ou dans la *Schweizer Illustrierte* (du type: [22] «Swatch Skin. The ultraflat from Swatch») sont exactement les mêmes que celles que l'on lit dans les journaux français et italiens. Ou encore l'emploi de l'anglais, langue des transports internationaux, dans les publicités des compagnies aériennes helvétiques ([23] «Time is everything. Swissair»...) témoigne d'un positionnement qui intègre le lecteur suisse dans le flux mondial des échanges commerciaux.

3.3. Bilan

On peut à présent faire un bilan sur les modalités pragmatiques de l'anglais dans la publicité suisse.

- Pour ce qui est de sa place dans le dispositif des annonces, l'anglais occupe des positions privilégiées: noms des produits (sous-fonction dénominative), points saillants du rédactionnel (sous-fonction d'ancrage thématique) et surtout slogans en accroche ou en phrase d'assise (notamment avec les fonctions connotative, phatique et ludique).
- En ce qui concerne sa portée référentielle, l'anglais assure la promotion des produits suisses les plus variés, ce qu'ont déjà relevé Cheshire et Moser (1994). Au premier rang de ces produits figurent les biens de consommation ([1]...) et d'équipement ([16]...), les nouvelles industries ([19]...), les prestations de services ([17]...). Mais les produits les plus anodins, comme les condiments Thomy (*cf.* [8]), recherchent dans l'anglais la valorisation qui semble leur faire défaut. Bref, celui-ci touche une partie importante du marketing suisse.

- À travers ses fonctions, l'anglais publicitaire recouvre deux axes thématiques à fort potentiel persuasif. D'abord, celui de la technicité, avec une terminologie savante souvent fabriquée *ad hoc* dans le cadre d'une campagne promotionnelle (voir le texte Jura [4]). Ensuite, celui de la performance facile pour laquelle les qualifications de «quick» [3], de «cool» [6] ou d'«easy» [12][5] reviennent sans cesse. En résulte un anglais réducteur sur les plans conceptuels et lexicaux, limité aux stricts besoins de la communication publicitaire.

Se pose la question de l'impact perlocutoire de cet anglais publicitaire sur la population. D'une façon générale, cet impact dépend du public-cible. Comme l'a montré Rash (1996), il est important sur le public urbanisé et surtout jeune. Ce que confirme Livia Richard, porte-parole du CSR, à propos du slogan [20] «No drinks, no drugs, no problems»: «Les jeunes acceptent très bien l'anglais. On a fait des tests comparatifs avec un certain nombre d'entre eux. Ils ont dit que le slogan en anglais, c'était mieux» (Lassueur, 1995, p. 59). En revanche, l'anglais publicitaire rencontre moins de succès auprès des couches plus âgées de la population, ainsi que l'indique l'enquête de Collaud (1994). Par ailleurs, l'impact des énoncés publicitaires en anglais varie selon les différences de sensibilité entre les communautés linguistiques. Les observateurs (Cordey, 1995; Andrey, 1996...) s'accordent en effet pour dire que les Alémaniques sont plus réceptifs à l'anglais que les Romands, ce que résume Jacques Bettex, porte-parole des PTT, à propos de l'anglomanie manifestée par les affiches des Telecom: «En tant que francophone, je la regrette. Mais il faut bien le dire: dans le marché de la pub, l'influence des Alémaniques est prépondérante. Or chez eux, l'anglais passe beaucoup mieux que chez les Romands» (Lassueur, 1995, p. 61). Corroborant cette opinion, Rinn (2002) remarque que le slogan [21] «The Power of love» de la campagne anti-sida de 1995 a été mal perçu en Suisse romande, alors qu'il a été bien accueilli en Suisse alémanique.

Concrètement, l'impact d'un énoncé publicitaire en anglais est d'autant plus fort que celui-ci cumule plusieurs des fonctions mentionnées précédemment. Nous avons relevé la fonction ludique du slogan [15] «Swatch Irony». Mais cet énoncé a aussi une fonction dénominative (désignation d'un nouveau modèle

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5 Ce dernier qualificatif est particulièrement apprécié par les publicitaires suisses. Voir encore [24] «Natel swiss est plus easy que jamais» (Swisscom), [25] «Lust auf easy going?» (Oeschner)... Notons que «cool» et «easy» sont des emprunts fortement intégrés dans les langues nationales, ce qui entraîne pour eux une certaine déperdition de leur anglicité.

de montres), phatique (stimulation de l'intérêt du lecteur), connotative (valorisation rhétorique du produit), internationale (orientation mondiale de Swatch), sans parler de sa fonction de lingua franca au niveau suisse. Un tel cumul fonctionnel contribue à la pertinence de ce slogan et à sa réussite perlocutoire auprès du public. Inversement, l'impact de l'anglais est faible dans cette publicité pour les magasins Innovation-Grand Passage parue dans *L'Hebdo*: [26] «Le monde de l'homme. Chandails tibétains selected for you». Promouvant à l'adresse d'un public romand un produit en vente dans une société implantée à Lausanne et à Genève, cette annonce partiellement en anglais ne peut prétendre à une fonction internationale ni de lingua franca. De même, les fonctions dénominative, thématique ou ludique du syntagme anglais «selected for you» sont nulles et sa fonction phatique est peu marquée. Ce syntagme n'a en fait qu'une fonction connotative, la plus floue de toutes, suggérant que les magasins Innovation-Grand Passage participent au flux moderniste, symbolisé par l'anglais.

4. La dialectique fonctionnelle de l'anglais et des langues nationales

La portée réelle de l'anglais publicitaire ne peut être pleinement évaluée qu'à travers les rapports qu'il entretient avec les langues nationales. Il convient d'examiner de plus près l'importance respective et la régulation fonctionnelle de ces différents systèmes linguistiques dans les annonces.

4.1. Un certain équilibrage

Dans les publicités suisses, le rapport de force entre l'anglais et les langues nationales joue tantôt en faveur du premier, tantôt en faveur des secondes, avec quelques situations de concurrence.

L'anglais est en position de monopole dans une fonction: celle de lingua franca. Cette position exclusive de l'anglais comme langue publicitaire véhiculaire s'explique aussi bien par les lacunes du plurilinguisme qui rendent difficile une véritable intercompréhension des langues nationales sur tout le territoire[6] que par l'uniformisation croissante du marketing suisse. D'un point de vue publicitaire, le recours – souvent fragmentaire – à l'anglais comme lingua

6 D'après des statistiques de 1996 citées par Lugrin (2001), une partie importante de la population suisse (65% des Alémaniques, 43% des Romands et 27% des Italophones) déclare ne pas parler de deuxième langue nationale.

franca a deux avantages: il permet des économies de conception et de traduction, donc de temps et d'argent. Il renforce la cohésion linguistique d'une même campagne nationale, en fournissant un code transglossique homogène. De plus, selon l'hypothèse intéressante de Cheshire et Moser (1994), l'anglais publicitaire apparait comme l'une des réponses au malaise communautaire suisse actuel, en offrant une unité de façade qui correspond à l'image qu'on se fait du pays: celle d'une Suisse harmonieuse et moderne. L'anglais fonctionne alors «as a mirror for Switzerland» (p. 466). Cependant, même si elle rencontre les faveurs d'une partie de la population (Cordey, 1995)[7], cette fonction de lingua franca exercée par l'anglais publicitaire ne manque pas de régionaliser les langues nationales, au risque de brouiller l'identité suisse. D'autant plus que loin d'être une «langue neutre» (pour reprendre une formulation de Lugrin, 2001), l'anglais en contexte étranger conserve, même en filigrane, une partie de ses représentations symboliques anglo-saxonnes.

L'anglais est en position largement dominante pour deux autres fonctions: celles de langue internationale et connotative. Bien que le français et l'allemand soient chacun la (ou l'une des) langue(s) officielle(s) de divers pays, ils ne sont pas considérés par les publicitaires comme ayant une grande portée transglossique. En particulier, les annonces suisses montrent le déclin médiatique international du français au profit de l'anglais. Les publicités pour les montres fabriquées en Suisse romande – produits d'exportation par excellence – sont éloquentes à ce sujet, comme le révèlent des statistiques que nous avons faites sur un supplément de *L'Hebdo* d'avril 1998. Jusque dans les années 1960, la promotion, nationale ou internationale, de ce type de produits s'effectuait essentiellement en français. Or dans le supplément de *L'Hebdo* observé, sur 24 annonces promouvant des montres romandes, 15 utilisent l'anglais pour leurs slogans (soit 62,5%)[8]. Ce pourcentage, qui n'est que le reflet des campagnes internationales des marques en question, indique que les annonceurs suisses tendent à privilégier d'emblée la langue qui leur parait avoir la meilleure diffusion mondiale, surtout dans la perspective de campagnes uniformisées. On retrouve une même domination de l'anglais pour ce qui est de la fonction connotative. Sans doute, les langues nationales ont toujours un potentiel connotatif hors de leur zone géographique. Ainsi, l'italien

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7 Plus généralement, selon l'enquête de l'institut ISOPUBLIC (2000) rapportée par Murray, Wegmüller et Ali Khan (2001), 28% des Romands et 27% des Alémaniques manifestent leur préférence pour l'anglais comme langue de communication entre les Suisses.

8 Ce chiffre est assez proche de celui donné par Andrey (1996): 55% des publicités pour montres retenues dans son enquête sur des magazines alémaniques ont recours à l'anglais.

symbolise le sens de la famille dans telle annonce alémanique: [27] «Viva la mamma!» (Zug). De même, le français continue à connoter le luxe ([28] «Koenig. De Luxe») et la valorisation gastronomique ([29] «Tilsiter LÉGER») dans les publicités alémaniques. Inversement, l'emploi d'un slogan en allemand ([30] «Voll geil»), associé à la représentation du champion olympique Simon Amman, valorise pleinement, dans une publicité de *L'Hebdo*, la tonicité authentique des boissons AZM, fabriquées en Argovie. Mais ces développements connotatifs restent statistiquement très limités par rapport à la grande diversité, vue en 3.1.2., des emplois symboliques de l'anglais publicitaire. En outre, à la différence de l'anglais valorisé en tant que tel, l'exploitation connotative de l'italien, du français ou de l'allemand tient plus à l'univers socioculturel qu'ils évoquent qu'à ces langues mêmes.

En ce qui concerne la sous-fonction dénominative et la fonction phatique, l'anglais et les langues nationales sont en concurrence ouverte. Au niveau des dénominations des marques, bien qu'un nombre non négligeable (comme [31] «Open Air», entreprise textile de Granges-Paccot) passe à l'anglais[9], la majorité d'entre elles gardent leur appellation d'origine: [2] «Rausch», [4] «Jura»... Pour ce qui est des noms de produits, malgré la forte pression de l'anglais (3.1.1.), le français ou l'italien conservent leur potentiel néologique, que ce soit pour fournir des dérivés sémantiques ([11] «Ritmo»... [Vêtements Odlo]), des composés ([32] «JuraSel» [Schweizer Rheinsalinen]...) ou des conglomérés ([33] «Zoé Ligne Sensible» [cosmétiques Migros]...). Quant à la fonction phatique, les nombreux slogans en langue nationale la remplissent tout autant que ceux, certes également très nombreux (3.2.1), en anglais. Par exemple, dans une annonce pour les boissons Michel [34], la combinaison d'une accroche incitative en allemand («Neu! Trink dich schön») et d'une phrase d'assise dialogique en français («Merci, monsieur Michel») contribue fortement à attirer l'attention des lecteurs.

Si l'on considère la fonction ludique et la sous-fonction explicative, les langues nationales prédominent sur l'anglais. Nous avons mentionné en 3.2.1 la réticence des publicitaires suisses à pratiquer des jeux de langage en anglais. En fait, ceux-ci s'effectuent principalement dans les langues nationales, ce qui en garantit l'intelligibilité. À elles seules les campagnes Migros illustrent cette prédilection des stratégies ludiques pour le français ou l'allemand, sous les

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9 Globalement, plus une marque a une envergure internationale, plus elle tend à adopter une dénomination anglaise (Swatch, Swiss...).

formes les plus variées: antanaclases ([35] «Chefs-d'oeuvre de hors-d'oeuvre. Salades Migros»), jeux intertextuels ([36] «Le veau. De l'or»), réactivations de locutions ([37] «Machen Sie mal wieder das Kalb»)[10]... Par ailleurs, si l'anglais pose avant tout l'axe thématique du rédactionnel des annonces (3.1.1.), leurs développements explicatifs se font généralement dans les langues nationales, cela évidemment dans un souci de meilleure compréhension[11]. C'est le cas pour ce petit texte promouvant le cheeseburger de Toni:

> [39] Toni Grill Cheeseburger ist aus Käse und schmilzt trotzdem nicht. Innert 4 bis 6 Minuten ist Toni Grill Cheeseburger auf dem Grill, in der Bratpfanne oder im Mikrowellenherd zubereitet. Er eignet sich zum Beispiel ideal zu Salat oder Gemüse.

Enfin, lorsqu'il s'agit d'assurer une symbiose territoriale et pour ainsi dire existentielle entre les produits suisses et le public, l'anglais s'efface pour laisser le monopole aux langue nationales. Cette fonction territoriale exclusive attachée à celles-ci se remarque dans les annonces vantant la «suissitude» de produits alimentaires comme les fromages (Tilsit, Luzerner Rahmkäse...) ou les légumes: [40] «Beiss mich! Dein unverschämtes» (Schweizer Gemüse) – [41] «Goûtez nos rondeurs! Savoureusement vôtres» (Légumes Suisses) – [42] «Divorami! Appassionatamente tuo» (Verdure Svizzere)... L'enracinement régional de certains produits se traduit quelquefois par l'utilisation du suisse allemand, propre à leur conférer une forte valeur identitaire: [43] «I üsem Ämmitauer isch nüt Ugattligs drinn» (Emmental).

4.2. Une gestion plurilingue délicate

Comme le montre notre corpus, il existe une certaine régulation dans la gestion du plurilinguisme Anglais-Langues nationales au sein des annonces pour les produits suisses. L'anglais opère plutôt sur les axes de la stratégie globaliste *(fonctions internationale et de lingua franca)* et de la valorisation symbolique *(fonction connotative)* des messages publicitaires. Les langues nationales assument pleinement leur rôle sur les axes de l'ancrage spécifique *(fonction territoriale)* des annonces et de leur proximité sémiologique *(fonction ludique)* ou pratique *(sous-fonction explicative)* avec les récepteurs.

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10 L'énoncé [36] fait évidemment allusion au veau d'or de la Bible. Quant à l'énoncé [37], il réactive le sens propre animal à l'origine du sens figuré *faire le fou* de la locution «Das Kalb machen».

11 Dans notre enquête, nous n'avons guère trouvé qu'une annonce pour la société Winterthur International [38], à l'adresse des managers d'entreprises, où les explications étaient entièrement données en anglais.

Cette gestion du plurilinguisme publicitaire donne souvent lieu à des dosages délicats qui illustrent l'art de bien distribuer les langues dans une annonce, selon la ligne argumentative choisie. En particulier, du fait de leur antagonisme, certaines fonctions demandent un compromis subtil. C'est le cas pour les fonctions internationale et territoriale qu'une publicité de la société Swiss [44] essaie de concilier. L'anglais utilisé pour la phrase d'assise («Swiss International Air Lines») vise certes à exprimer l'ouverture mondiale de cette compagnie aérienne. Mais en même temps, la mention des quatre langues nationales («Schweiz. Suisse. Svizzera. Svizra») sur l'avion représenté en gros plan dans cette publicité rappelle au lecteur l'attachement de la société Swiss aux particularismes communautaires helvétiques. De même, il n'est pas toujours évident d'harmoniser les fonctions territoriale et connotative, comme en témoigne une annonce romande pour une société de vente par internet dénommée «LeShop.ch» [45]. Grâce à l'article français, cette appellation préserve le minimum d'enracinement linguistique. Mais d'un autre côté, le nom anglais «Shop» – suivi de la mention «on-line» sur l'annonce – lui confère une connotation moderniste, en liaison avec l'univers informatique[12]. Cependant, il arrive que l'importance excessive accordée à certaines fonctions compromet l'équilibre fonctionnel entre l'anglais et telle ou telle langue nationale. Soit ce slogan pour un nouveau condiment de la société Thomy: [46] «French dressing sans cholestérol». On attendrait ici la formulation «Assaisonnement français» à la place de «French dressing» pour deux raisons. En premier lieu, parce que la nationalité du produit promu parait naturellement demander l'usage du français qui est aussi la langue du public visé, les Romands en l'occurrence. En second lieu, parce que le français connote traditionnellement la valorisation gastronomique (4.1.). Or les fonctions territoriale et connotative que le français assumerait dans cette annonce sont sacrifiées au profit de la fonction de lingua franca de l'anglais (qu'on retrouve dans la version allemande de cette annonce) et sans doute aussi de sa fonction connotative de langue à la mode, jugées supérieures.

5. Conclusion: l'anglais publicitaire, une menace pour les langues nationales?

Opérant comme un «second language» privilégié, l'anglais s'impose de plus en plus dans la publicité suisse, comme d'ailleurs dans celle des autres pays

12 Même si «Shop» fait désormais quasiment partie du lexique français, il conserve en mémoire son origine anglaise et les effets connotatifs qui lui sont associés.

où, à part le cas spécifique de la fonction de lingua franca, il assume en gros les fonctions que nous avons décrites. Toutefois, même si cette fonction de lingua franca pose des problèmes (4.1.), l'anglais ne menace pas vraiment les langues nationales dans les annonces de presse que nous avons analysées, dans la mesure où – comme nous l'avons vu – s'établit la plupart du temps un équilibrage entre son apport exogène et les fonctions endogènes jouées par ces langues nationales. Dans l'ensemble, celles-ci parviennent à contrebalancer l'imaginaire sociodiscursif qu'il véhicule par leur rôle identitaire, capital dans le processus de la persuasion publicitaire[13]. L'anglais pourrait seulement être une menace si, sous la pression de sa diffusion croissante, il étouffait peu à peu la fonctionnalité médiatique propre au français, à l'allemand, à l'italien. Mais peut-être assiste-t-on aux préludes de cette menace dans un autre média publicitaire que celui que nous avons analysé: les affiches urbaines, notamment pour les cigarettes ou les voitures. Limitées à un slogan plurifonctionnel, ces affiches adoptent de plus en plus la stratégie du tout-anglais, au détriment du substrat linguistico-culturel national.

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13 Ce rôle identitaire des langues nationales est du reste pris en compte par les entreprises multinationales elles-mêmes. Voir à ce propos un article du *Nouveau Quotidien* (11-06-1996) intitulé: «Pour se vendre dans le monde entier, les grandes marques comme Nescafé ou Maggi s'adaptent aux langues locales».

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Références du corpus

A = *Azione*, CT = *Corriere del Ticino*, NQ = *Le Nouveau Quotidien*, LT = *Le Temps*, H = *L'Hebdo*, I = *L'Illustré*, SI = *Schweizer Illustrierte*.

[1] SI, 08-04-2002 - [2] H, 11-04-2002 - [3] CT, 06-07-2002 - [4] SI, 06-05-2002 - [5] SI, 17-06-2002 - [6] H, 23-05-2002 - [7] H, 13-06-2002 - [8] I, 11-09-2002 - [9] SI, 01-07-2002 - [10] SI, 20-05-2002 - [11] I, 10-04-2002 - [12] SI, 20-05-2002 - [13] H, 11-04-2002 - [14] H, 06-05-2001 - [15] I, 31-07-2002 - [16] SI, 02-09-2002 - [17] CT, 16-09-2002; H, 19-09-2002; SI, 30-09-2002 - [18] SI, 09-09-2002; H, 12-09-2002 - [19] SI, 06-05-2002; CT, 08-07-2002 - [20] NQ, 15-04-1998 - [21] NQ, 04-09-1995 - [22] SI, 22-04-2002; I, 24-04-2002 - [23] H, 12-02-1996 - [24] NQ, 07-01-1998 - [25] SI, 25-03-2002 - [26] H, 01-09-1994 - [27] SI, 22-04-2002 - [28] SI, 20-05-2002 - [29] SI, 02-09-2002 - [30] H, 29-08-2002 - [31] I, 10-04-2002 - [32] I, 03-04-2002 - [33] H, 03-06-2002 - [34] SI, 08-07-2002 - [35] H, 12-12-2001 - [36] I, 20-03-1996 - [37] SI, 11-03-1996 - [38] LT, 08-10-2002 - [39] SI, 03-06-2002 - [40] SI, 16-09-2002 - [41] I, 08-05-2002 - [42] A, 25-09-2002 - [43] SI, 15-12-1999 - [44] H, 02-05-2002 - [45] H, 25-04-2002 - [46] I, 30-04-2002; SI, 08-04-2002.

Unpacking before take-off: English for Swiss Purposes in code-mixed advertisement texts for 14-20-year olds

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'Konto auf and I make the fly' or 'J'ouvre un compte and I turn the heels': in the first a young man with a shoulder bag adjusting his bow-tie, in the second a young woman propped up against her suitcase contorting her legs to expose the turned-up soles and heels of her boots. If you are under the age of twenty and clever enough to unpack one of these advertisement messages you might open a bank account and take off to London on a reduced-rate easyJet.com flight at your earliest convenience, perhaps to improve your English. If you are too old and feel inclined to stay at your desk, then read on.

Dieser Artikel beleuchtet die Verwendung des Englischen als 'English for Swiss Purposes' in einer gemischtsprachigen Werbekampagne, die schülersprachliche Äusserungen zu verwenden scheint. Im Gegensatz zum üblichen Gebrauch des Englischen als prestigereiche, universale Werbesprache in einer mehrsprachigen Schweiz baut diese Kampagne vorrangig nicht auf den angloamerikanischen oder internationalen Symbolwert des Englischen, sondern auf das eher verdeckte Prestige jugendsprachlicher Quersprachigkeit und auf landessprachliche Identifizierung. Die Slogans bedienen sich zielgruppendifferenziert (schweizer)deutscher und französischer Redewendungen, die mit englischem Wortmaterial wiedergegeben und an landesprachliche Satzanfänge angefügt werden, also englisch aussehen, sich aber (schweizer)deutsch bzw. französisch anfühlen. Die Slogans für das Tessin stehen dazu im Kontrast. Das inszenierte Lernerenglisch der zwischensprachlichen Wortspiele wird als Reflexion eines sich wandelnden sprachlichen Repertoires und Selbstverständnisses von Nicht-Muttersprachlern interpretiert, die Englisch nicht nur als Fremdsprache lernen sondern sich auch als quersprachige Ausdrucksmöglichkeit zur Selbstdarstellung zu eigen machen.

Introduction

English has been used for advertisements in Switzerland for decades, both for the prestige and power that the association with English-speaking countries such as the USA and Britain conveys and for its versatility and economy as a lingua franca of advertising in a plurilingual country. While this use of English for Advertisement Purposes ('EAP') is still increasing and becoming more sophisticated[1] there is now evidence for an additional trend or counter-current

1 Cf. for example the complex interrogative structures used in a recent advertisement series for *Winston light* cigarettes: 'Do I look like I get no satisfaction?', 'Have you got a light?', 'Do I look

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in which the kind of English that is used seems to be shifting away from native variety norms. In the instances under consideration here, English has been moved away from British or American norms which reflect the cultural symbolic value that English usually has as the language of the USA and Britain or as an international language of professionalism (Cheshire & Moser 1994). In some of the advertisements that Cheshire & Moser (1994: 451, 453) studied, English was used in a "special Suisse Romande way" and they observed that English was being appropriated as a symbol of Swiss national identity. In the advertisements studied here, English has not only changed in its symbolic value, but also in its form, towards what seem to be localised non-native (L2 or L3[2]) uses of English heavily influenced by and code-mixed with two national L1 languages, (Swiss) German and French. These slogans do not target an unsegmented Swiss public, however; these English slogans do not save the cost of translation into national languages. In fact, they were produced separately for Francophones and Germanophones and are in all likelihood incomprehensible outside their narrowly defined intended target groups. There must be other reasons than the usual ones for using English. Even though the advertisement slogans under consideration (mockingly) index their embeddedness in the tradition of English for Advertisement Purposes in Switzerland, and may be read as examples thereof by members of the public outside their immediate target groups, their function depends on their specific, not their universal appeal. Their specificity actually reflects the status of L2/L3 English among young people (14-20) in Switzerland beyond the role that they play as staged examples of learner language in the particular advertisements. It is the covert prestige associated with this unsanctioned, code-mixed English for Swiss Purposes among young people that the effect of the advertisements depends on. This prestige could derive from its value as a sign of resistance towards the English distributed through the education system (which it

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like I need more?', 'Do we look like we'd compromise on taste?'. Ten years ago there was not a single interrogative structure to be found in 390 advertisements using English from *L'Hebdo* and *L'Illustré* (Cheshire & Moser 1994:457).

2 It should be borne in mind that in Swiss contexts English is rarely if ever an L2 in the sense of a first foreign language in the order of acquisition in formal settings. Until very recently, English was always the second (L3) or third (L4) foreign language introduced at school after one or two of the national languages. For children from families who speak other than one of the four national languages at home, English would thus be an L4 (or L5). The same would apply for those members of the diglossic Swiss German population who regard Swiss German as their L1 and Standard German as learned in school as an L2, which was the case for more than a third of Rash's (1996a) respondents. In terms of dominance or preference (cf. also Christen & Näf 2001: 65, Dürmüller 2002: 117f), however, English may be adopted as an L2 in later years.

perhaps also mocks for humorous effect). Or it may derive from the interpretation of English as part of one's *sprachliches Selbstverständnis*, one's linguistic repertoire and identity kit[3], which is also fed by the spread of 'English from below' (Preisler 1999). This influence of 'English from below' is exerted long before children in Switzerland get to learn English at school through the English they hear and read in their surroundings, often without realising that it is English.[4] Advertisements, shop signs and brand names (including names for fast food) are full of English lexical material or are completely in English. The lyrics of popular music are often in English. Dance, 'fun sports' and leisure terminology derives from English. TV presenters' and HipHoppers' speech styles are characterised by heavy borrowing or code-switching. The texts even of French- and German-language computer software, games, emails, chats and of mobile telephones is full of words and messages in English. There is also wide-spread use of English among young people for expressive purposes such as graffiti or swearing. 'English from below' may have a relatively speaking stronger influence on Swiss school children as English lessons in school set in relatively late. Except for very few experimental contexts children in Switzerland have not had English (as a L3-L5 cf. fn. 2) before their first year of secondary school when they are at least 12 or 13 years old. Only the most recent changes, which will take effect by 2003, are introducing 'early start' English (as a first foreign language) in the third year of primary school in some German-speaking parts of Switzerland.

Even if they involve the *hors sol* language English, code-switching and code-mixing appear to be healthy, politically correct plurilingual practises that could favour individual over societal pluriligualism for Switzerland. There is, however, the problem of mutual incomprehensibility. In many of the instances listed below, it really takes a French or (Swiss) German native speaker's competence (or help) to understand the English sentence parts. Even proficient users of the other national language as an L2 may not be able to understand the slogans. Is English thus exploited as a disguise for reinforcing monolingual habits, attitudes and identities? What seems clear at present is that beyond its purely decorative function, increasing use of this kind of English, i.e. what one might term 'English for Swiss German Purposes' and

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3 Cf. Eastman & Stein's (1993:187) concept of language display, which "...functions as an artifact of crossing linguistic boundaries without threatening social boundaries or as a reaction to social boundaries which cannot be crossed".

4 As in Preisler (1999:255), however, exposure to English can be ignored and does not automatically lead to comprehension let alone acquisition.

'English for Swiss Romand Purposes', might amount to 'English as an anti-lingua franca'[5] whose function could be a reinforcement of the *Röschtigraben*. It would be quite inappropriate and misguided, however, to take the present corpus as a basis for pursuing this issue, as the majority of the slogans were developed precisely for the purpose of limiting comprehension to two small target groups. The two groups are defined as much by their L1s as by their age, however. The slogans will also remain opaque to speakers of the right L1 if they are from the wrong age group. Whether appropriation of English by speakers of a common L1 entails the danger of rendering it incomprehensible to speakers with other language backgrounds, which is unlikely in most lingua franca contexts unless there is strong asymmetry in idiomaticity[6], remains to be determined by future research. My use of the term English for Swiss Purposes as a reinterpretation of the acronym ESP and as opposed to English as an intra-nationally used lingua franca (cf. Dürmüller 2002: 117ff) is meant to reflect these very special purposes of serving a single 'chrono-linguistic' group[7]. It is argued below that 'ESP' in this sense is not an isolated phenomenon, however, but one that fits the concept of *Quersprachigkeit* (List & List 2001) as well as first approximations of "English as a postoccidentalist multi-repertoired performance" (Pennycook 2001).

A corpus of advertisement slogans

This paper focuses on a small set of twenty-eight single-sentence printed instances of French-English and (Swiss) German-English language mixing used in a recent Swiss advertisement campaign targeted at young *Postfinance* customers. In what is referred to as an imitation of school children's L2/L3 English interlanguage productions[8], mostly literal '(mis-)translations' of German and French idioms into English are combined with German or French sentence beginnings. From May to September 2002 they were displayed on

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5 Barbara Seidlhofer, personal communication.

6 So far, however, the problem of "unilateral idiomaticity" in ELF communication as been looked at from the point of view of asymmetric use of native English idioms (Seidlhofer 2001:147, 2002).

7 Cf. the term "Neujungdenglish" in Rash's (1996b) title.

8 Documentation on the campaign for Postfinance staff contains the following:

> Konto auf und I speak English. Jugendliche lernen Englisch, können es aber oft noch nicht perfekt. Und das hört sich dann ganz lustig an. Die neue Kampagne von Postfinance greift das lustige Kauderwelsch auf, welches entsteht, wenn jemand deutsche bzw. französische und italienische Redewendungen 1:1 ins Englische übersetzt. Wers [sic!] besser lernen will: Jugendkonto eröffnen und mit easyJet vergünstigt nach London verreisen!
> *Jugendkampagne 2002, 21. Mai bis 30. September, Personalinformation*: S.9

bill-boards, cards, in information materials and on web pages[9], many of them together with illustrations mostly supporting the literal, not the idiomatic, meanings of the underlying German[10] and French idioms, thus adding an extra level of interpretation. Another twelve advertising slogans for the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland contrast markedly with these.

The data are described and analysed from several angles: what context they are embedded in, what and how they mean, what linguistic phenomena they can be classified as. In their description and interpretation I also draw on two telephone interviews with the account executive who was responsible for the campaign, reactions to the campaign in the press and on the web as well as an example of web-chat by young people from the target group.

All the slogans were used in a joint-promotion effort of *Postfinance/ DIE POST* and *easyJet.com* targeted at 14-20 year-olds, enticing them to open a *Yellow* bank account for young people by offering a SFr. 50.- reduction on *easy.jet* flights to London. As in similar joint-promotion 'open-an-account-and-get-a-present' campaigns with other partners in previous years, this one was designed by *Publicis Zürich*, one of the top advertising agencies in the country. According to the account executive in charge of this campaign, the idea of using English developed in the context of the promotion offer. A creative team in Zurich was set up to develop funny one-to-one translations of (Swiss) German idioms that were easy to communicate graphically. The idea for the functional leitmotif of flaunting one's superiority through the idioms seems to have been triggered by a Swiss German idiomatic use of the verb *verreisen* 'go away on a trip or journey' in the imperative as *verreis!* meaning 'go away!, clear off!, get lost!'. For one-to-one translations from French, help was recruited from *Publicis*' Lausanne branch. For Italian however, there was obviously less help available or less motivation to seek it. The rationalisation offered in my first interview with the executive was that Italian was "not idiomatic enough", and so they simply used general English to convey a holiday feeling. In a second interview he also reported on translation attempts involving Italian, which were ultimately always rejected by either the translators themselves or the audience on which they were tested. They agreed that

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9 http://yellowww.postfinance.ch/ before September 30, 2002.

10 In the examples quoted above, it is the slang expression *die Fliege machen* 'to beat it (inf.), to disappear' (but note that in German *Fliege* 'bow tie' is a homonym of *Fliege* 'fly') and the French idiom *tourner les talons* 'to turn on one's heel/turn quickly to face the opposite direction (and walk away)'.

literal translations involving Italian and English would either not work or be perceived as embarrassing. Therefore the slogans for the Italian target group were eventually out-sourced and produced by a translator who regularly works for *Postfinance*.

What may have motivated the use of this kind of 'ESP' – instead of the more usual, intra-nationally universal, English for Swiss Advertisement Purposes – in a campaign targeted at young Francophones and Germanophones did not immediately emerge in the interviews. That a different linguistic strategy (simple code-switching or borrowing) was used for the Italian-speaking target group (*Aprire il conto and take it easy*) may be attributed to a combination of factors. Lack of resources or a lack of interest in the smaller linguistic group, for whom a greater effort was not likely to pay off, may have played a role. What emerged in the second interview, however, was that language attitudes and different attitudes to code-mixing in the Italian translators and test audiences must have played a role as well. Through their use of code-switching with lingua franca English, however, the Italian slogans highlight the special 'ESP' quality of the French and German slogans.

The corpus of *Postfinance* advertisement slogans is presented in three tables in the appendix, one for each target group.

Description

Each of the strings under consideration (cf. appendix) begins in one of three national languages, switches to English intrasententially and ends with a full stop. The sentences appeared on posters, postcards and on the web and were reproduced on the cover pages of information materials. Those with illustrations were also accompanied by the three relevant brand names: *easyJet.com* in the header signature line in the top right-hand corner, *Postfinance* and *DIE POST* in the footer signature line, also right-aligned; the web address was presented as part of the floor in the picture. Interestingly, the most informative part, with the main message in one of the national languages in each case[11], appeared as the standing details, as if in a footnote, in a line of small-print that is usually dedicated to such details as the nicotine and tar content of cigarettes. (cf. also Cheshire & Moser 1994:456) Those slogans

11 *Gelbes Jugendkonto eröffnen und CHF 50.- günstiger nach London.* [sic] or *Ouvre un Compte Jaune Jeunesse et Londres est à toi pour CHF 50.- de moins.* or *Apri un Conto Giallo Gioventù e vola a Londra per CHF 50.- in meno.*

without illustrations appeared inside 6-page customer information brochures as subheadings, set off from the surrounding German, French or Italian texts in colour, font and font size. Occasional English loans or coinages, anglicising spellings and code-switches in the otherwise national-language-only surrounding texts[12] are not taken into consideration in this paper. It should be noted, however, that in the cases indicated, the original national-language idiom was in fact used in the text immediately following the English relexification.

There are 14 sentences beginning in German (Appendix, Table 1: 1i-14), 14 sentences beginning in French (Appendix, Table 2: 15i-28) and twelve sentences beginning in Italian (Appendix, Table 3: 29i-40). All sentences are numbered for ease of reference, numbers with a lower-case i refer to slogans accompanied by illustrations (four different for German, four different for French, and three different for Italian, plus one showing an *easy.jet* aeroplane used for all three languages). The words in the national languages say more or less the same in each case. In German the opening is *(Gelbes) Konto auf* '(Yellow) Account open(ed)/up', in French it reads *J'ouvre un compte* 'I open an account' or *Ouvre un Compte Jaune* 'Open a Yellow Account' and in Italian *Aprire il conto* 'Opening (to open) the account' or *Apri un Conto Giallo* 'Open a Yellow Account'. The national language part is nearly always linked with the English part by the co-ordinator *and*, which in each case (except 28) introduces a consequence understood to depend on the condition specified in the first part, viz. the opening of a bank account at the Post Office. There is no overt conditional marking, probably to make the openings sound more like invitations. Only one of the slogans (21) contains the predictive modal *will*, which would generally be required by the conditional context in native varieties of English. There are two cases of *can*, in 4 and 10, used in an (ironical) permission sense, and four occurrences of *can* in a possibility sense, both meanings by implication including future time interpretation. These four occurrences of *can* include three instances of the only slogan that is used in all three language contexts alike, viz. *and you can easy jet to London* 'and you can jet off to London easily', in which the brand name *easy.jet is* reinterpreted as an adverb + verb pattern and used accordingly. There are two slogans, 5 and 19, which use *or* instead of *and* as a linking device, which makes the two

12 For example *overnighten* (for *übernachten* 'stay the night') and *Good shine* (for *Gutschein* 'voucher') for German, *Good* (for *Bon* 'voucher'), *games*, *décoller easy vers Londres*, *Check it out: www.postfinance.ch* for French or *just-in-time* for Italian.

slogans sound more like threats than invitations. One slogan, 28, uses an imperative with an exclamation mark. As can be seen from the detailed analysis of the individual instances in Tables 1 and 2 (cf. Appendix), most German and French code-mixed slogans use relexifications of L1 (ML cf. below) idioms. The information on meaning, use and origin or mental image connected to the L1/ML idioms in question indicates their degree of language specificity and illustrates the general analysis and classification of the code-mixed slogans in the following sections. The Italian code-mixed cases are different from either the French or the German ones and will be considered later in a separate section.

Borrowing, code-switching or cross-linguistic interference?

On the whole, the use of English lexical material in examples 1 to 28 does not constitute either borrowing, that is the use of an imported foreign word or expression from a donor language which, in adapted or unadapted form, becomes part of the recipient language's lexicon over time (such as English sports terminology in many other European languages), or even nonce borrowing, the spontaneous use of a foreign word which is not adopted later on. Not even the concept of loan translations, in which a foreign expression or idiom is imported from a donor language but rendered in recipient-language words, is applicable here to a more than limited degree. What we are looking at is not English idioms rendered in German or French for Swiss readers nor is it German or French idioms rendered in English for British or American readers, as is sometimes the case in (ethnic heritage) language learning contexts. Where loan translations do play a role (probably 2i and 22), English idioms that were imported into German and French a long time ago in the form of loan translations, have been retranslated into English for German and French speaking readers, just for the sake of using English. All other cases (1i, 3i, 4i -12, and 15i -19i, 21, 23- 26, 28) can be regarded as German (or French) sentence parts which have been translated into English, as if they were loan translations, but have been re-imbedded into their respective German or French contexts. In these examples English is not needed to fill lexical or conceptual gaps in either French or German. On the contrary, more often than not the idiomatic concepts or mental images which English is used to convey are genuinely tied up with (Swiss) German and French, as the information in Tables 1 and 2 amply demonstrates. English is not needed in the transactionally communicative sense, to say something that could not be said in either of the national languages; English is chosen for reasons that have to

do with the situation of use, and it is in this respect that code-switching seems to be a helpful concept.

Code-switching (CS) is a term which usually refers to the purposeful if not always consciously intentional use of more than one language by a (bi- or plurilingual) speaker in a given situation. Disregarding for the moment the fact that the instances under consideration have been produced by a process of 'translation' and not in spontaneous spoken discourse involving more than one language, we can apply the descriptive terminology of Myers-Scotton's (1992; Jake, Myers-Scotton & Gross 2002) approach to code-switching. Thus, (Swiss) German and French, respectively, are the Matrix Languages (MLs) and set the morpho-syntactic frames. English is the Embedded Language (EL) which provides the lexical material. However, in our cases the MLs also provide the blue-print for the idioms, that is, the collocational brackets come from the ML, too. Does that mean our examples are outside the scope of what can be accounted for by CS? This does not seem to be the case. As Turell (2002) has demonstrated, mixed constituents, EL structural islands and ML structural islands also occur in 'natural' cases of code-switching (especially intrasententially and if interlocutors are young) and can be accounted for by a recategorisation of Myers-Scotton's framework. The concepts of ML and EL remain relevant and useful even if used outside the context for which they were developed. In accounting for the process and not only the product, however, we also have to bear in mind that something similar to translation did in fact take place, though perhaps not in the usual sense.

Relexification and calques

As can be seen in Tables 1 and 2, in the majority of German and French code-mixed cases, English words are substituted for German or French words and employed to fill German/French syntactic or morphological frames. The English part is a word-by-word relexification of an underlying (Swiss) German or French idiomatic expression. Relexification is an interlanguage phenomenon and a communicative strategy known to be applied by L2/L3 learners especially in the early stages of learning and especially if these learners are inexperienced and working on the novice assumption that there is word-by-word or morpheme-by-morpheme equivalence between languages[13].

13 An attitude that could also be seen as an expression of a monolingual habitus, though not exactly in the sense intended by Gogolin (1994), Christiane Dalton-Puffer, personal communication.

However, lexical transfer of this kind can occur even in more advanced stages of language learning. The result is called calque, also a kind of loan translation of multi-word units (compounds, phrasal verbs or whole idioms), more often than not from one's L1 rather than from other previously learned languages (Ringbom 2001: 60ff). Relexification in the form of calques, where L2/L3 learners take two or more lexical units from the target language and assemble them according to "an L1-based pattern of meaning relationships" (Ringbom 2001:62) that is not attested in the target language, is thus an known feature of learner language.

The seemingly contrived use of English in the staged instances of learner language in the advertisement slogans is thus a viable approximation of cross-linguistic influence. As Näf & Pfander (2001:24) and Christen & Näf (2001) have shown, calques based on L1 and occasionally even L2 idioms are by no means the most frequent type of error in Francophone school leavers' English, but they do occur. But while it seems clear that in early stages of learning a foreign language at school the foreign words are accessed via mother-tongue equivalents (which promotes relexification), more advanced learners seem to develop direct access and, equally importantly, an avoidance strategy that prevents them from assuming similarity or equivalence even where it exists (Näf & Pfander 2001:12f)[14]. Too much similarity with the mother tongue is suspicious: the more dissimilar an expression is the likelier it is to be correct. By the same token, learners develop a sense of idiomaticity, they develop an awareness of the language -specificity of idiomatic expressions.

Both in the above sense of error and even in the wider sense of cross-linguistic influence it is implied that calques 'happen'. The study of languages in contact has shown, however, that even though calques are often regarded as undesirable they can be intentional:

> ... the use of calques can be considered as an in-group marker, where the speaker signals that he/she belongs to [a] group of bilinguals. No matter which of the two languages happens to be the most prestigeous in the situation (and this may differ) being bilingual has high prestige in itself. The use of calques can be considered as a way of handling two different languages at the same time- just like code-switching. Of course it is not regular code-switching, but one could call it 'backwards code-switching', 'double-code-switching' or 'covert code-switching'. (Jacobsen 2000:4)

From my own experience as a learner of foreign languages at school it seems obvious to me that calques are not just a type of error. They are frequently

14 This observation may be typical of a situation in which relatively closely related and therefore similar languages are concerned.

produced intentionally, as word play, for fun, as a dare. They depend for their effect on the L2/L3 learner/users' shared awareness that in producing and using them they jump the gap between their L1 and their additional language.

The (language teacher's) default expectation is that growing awareness of language-specific idiomaticity and avoidance of similarity will prevent more experienced learners from transferring idioms. But if the learner/users' desire is not to be correct but to be funny or daring or creative they will produce calques intentionally. In my interpretation then, the code-mixed advertisement slogans resemble code-switching – the intentional calques covert code-switching – while purporting to be erroneous learner language.

It is not clear, however, what they represented in the text-writers' intentionality and awareness. To many language professionals translation will usually mean rendering the meanings extricated from one language in another language as elegantly and idiomatically as possible, recreating a new text that does not give itself away as a translation while fully preserving the intention of the original. It may have been precisely this attitude that prevented the Italian translators consulted by *Publicis Zürich* from producing Italian equivalents to the slogans intended for the German-speaking target group. In language contact situations, however, translation can mean glossing, preserving something of the syntax of the original (syntactic calques) or of the original's idiomaticity, matching the original language's idioms as closely as possible. The resulting text is thus stylistically or lexically marked as a translation. (Thomason 1999)

In any case, whether as creative learner language, code-switching or marked contact translation (gloss), it takes a bilingual's language repertoire to produce and bilingual processing mode to interpret the calques. Caution is called for, in principle, in order to differentiate code-switching which reflects plurilingual competence and identity (Lüdi, in press[15]) from what Lüdi calls *translinguistic wording* (for French *formulation transcodique*), reflecting language learners' lexical gaps and other deficits which cause them to resort to their L1 or previously learned L2s as a "rescue device"[16]. The staged learner language of the advertisements, however, requires not so much caution as a kind of

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15 Lüdi grants that learners can code-switch in so far as this interpretation is co-constructed by the interlocutors in spite of asymmetric linguistic competencies.

16 But note the use of code-mixing for learning purposes in Switzerland, even in school, e.g. "Un, deux, trois, hinderem Hüsli steit le bois; quatre, cinq, six, i sym Bettli schlaft mon fils;..." in the FLE textbook *Bonne Chance* (Kessler et al. ²1997:9).

double vision. As in the optical illusion in which we see either a vase, or kissing profiles, depending on what we foreground and background, or, if we know the phenomenon, a fluctuation between them, we can see several layers of interpretation converging in the description of the slogans. We can see a reflection of translinguistic wording in Lüdi's sense, (deviant) leaner language; we can see code-switching and *Quersprachigkeit* (cf. below) as is typical of young people's in-group discourse; we can see playful rule violations and we can see calques as in-group marking and covert code-switching.

CS for Italian-speaking Switzerland

The instances of Italian code-switched with English are markedly different from the slogans for the German and French target groups. They are not based on underlying Italian idioms. The strings begin in Italian as the matrix language. Examples 29 to 31 start with an infinitival construction that is in fact not really typical of native-speaker Italian but rather a reflection of the telegraphic style of the German and French originals. The singular imperatives in 32 to 40 conform to native-speaker use. The embedded language is English. This time we do not find English lexical material used to convey expressions that are actually national-language idioms (except for 34). The embedded language is lingua franca English, produced by a *Postfinance* translator for the Italian speaking target group. It is idiomatically relatively neutral, a feature characteristic of successful English as a lingua franca communication (Seidlhofer 2001:147, 2002), and thus not perceived as problematic by the test audience, the agency or the client.

In all likelihood, due to its specific linguistic situation, there are fewer people on the whole in the Ticino who understand English well. English is learnt as the third foreign language after French and German at school and even highly educated people may have no English at all if they opted for Latin or Greek instead of English in their education. Even if the code-switched slogans vaguely reflect the styles of *Ticinesi* radio DJs, it is not clear if they are read as such by the Italian-speaking target group.

What is clear, however, is that in these slogans, there is little or no influence from the target group's L1 on the English that is used. One can interpret the English part of the sentences on the basis of one's competence in English. Influence from Italian was expressly avoided in order to conform to the perceived language attitude of the target group, which would have rejected interlingual puns. The absence of predictive modals in 33, 34, 36-38 and 40,

as well as the influence of German detected in many of the slogans (cf. Table 3) indicates that English as lingua franca is intended in the code-switched slogans, not any of the native varieties of English.

Interpretation

As opposed to the slogans designed for the Ticino discussed above, the English parts of the strings appearing in German- and French-speaking Switzerland cannot be interpreted on the basis of one's competence of English alone without recourse to the languages in which the strings begin. Only if conditions are right, i.e. if there is a degree of familiarity with more than one of the languages concerned, can the multilingual mental lexicon process the messages. If these conditions apply, however, it does so almost instantaneously. And one gets the joke. And this is how the advertisement works: it grabs one's attention by giving one's mental lexicon something to do. When one has worked out the meaning – and note that in a few cases national-language clues are hidden away in the surrounding text to confirm or support comprehension of the puns – and understood the joke, one feels satisfied. One's improved self-image reflects on the product or service to be sold: a clever product for clever people. (cf. Janich 2001).

From the point of view of the multilingual lexicon it seems clear that both languages need to be 'switched on' in order to provide the kind of cross-linguistic interaction which is needed to process the advertisement slogans successfully. Depending on one's theoretical inclination one might argue holistically (following Grosjean 1995) that one needs to be in bilingual mode to process the code-mixed messages. Or one might argue in terms of active, selected, stand-by and dormant languages (cf. Williams & Hammarberg 1998) that there must be some degree of switching and adjusting going on. In either case, the joke of the "interlingual puns" (Thomason 1999:95) probably rests on jumping the perceived distance between the languages and in violating expectations of separateness and correctness.

But what if comprehension is not achieved? The meanings will arguably remain opaque to people who are not entirely at home in the matrix languages French and (Swiss) German, or who do not have enough English to decode the message – which is in fact the case with many (older-generation) Swiss. From the point of view of advertising the lay person may wonder why such an effort was made to produce slogans that are so difficult or even impossible to understand by the majority of the population, that are so prone to attract

criticism from people with heightened linguistic sensibilities. Even if we grant that the display function of English (Eastman & Stein 1993) referred to in Cheshire & Moser (1994:458) keeps the value of 'EAP' intact even when the text is not understood by consumers, there must be a better reason for restricting the appeal of the slogans in this way. It has to do with homing in on the young target group. It seems that advertising agencies are happy to pay the price of being criticised, and the price of much higher costs in developing and realising such a campaign, in order to achieve regional differentiation, localisation and individualisation (Kühn 1986: 145f). And this is certainly what the slogans in this campaign achieve[17].

On the level of identification the relexified French and German idioms may look English but they are not transmogrified completely and still feel Swiss to those who can unpack the message. Interpreting the double alienation effect of English used to express (Swiss) German or French idioms together with illustrations that reinforce a literal as opposed to an idiomatic understanding of the messages may demand a considerable degree of linguistic meta-insight (or experience of one's monolingual habitus leading to error[18]). But it is playfully exploited, and is intellectually challenging and satisfying in making the recipients aware of how bilingual they are and how creative language play is. (Janich 2001: 70f)

The advertisements are not intended to be understood by just anybody. Nor can they be criticised or corrected by one's English teachers, because they are not intended to be correct, either. This lends a certain covert prestige to those who presumably use, or at least understand, this kind of language. As this language use is not publicly recommended, it can signal group solidarity and local identity. This is an obvious parallel with young people's discourse styles

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17 The so-called Poster Performance Index (PPI), i.e. the results of the formal assessment of the poster campaign based on marketing research by the APG, is based on face-to-face interview data. It provides figures on recall, correct association with the brand name as well as the campaign's general appeal. Research for the PPI is routinely carried out alternately in either Berne or Lausanne. Interviews for this campaign happened to be carried out in Berne. No data are available for the French- or Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland. In the German-speaking part of Switzerland the campaign was highly successful. The recall result of 67% was excellent (the finance and insurance sector's mean is 48 %), association with the brand name results reached the maximum value of 90% (!), general appeal at 57% was above average. While advertisements for the finance and insurance sector usually achieve higher results in male respondents, this campaign scored higher with female respondents. The PPI results did not become available until after this paper had been submitted for publication in Autumn 2002 and were therefore not taken into account in the interpretation of the data. It is felt, however, that they do support the current analysis and interpretation.

18 Cf. also Gogolin (1994).

as discussed in the literature: intentional impenetrability of the code-switched message to anyone outside the immediate peer group and the covert prestige that could be attached to using English in this unsanctioned way. In a study of switches from national language to English in young people's media discourse, Androutsopoulos (2001:1) also argues that "particular resources of English are important for the projection of 'exclusive' youth cultural identities". Using English can be a stance; CS can be metaphorical (cf. Rampton's (1995) language crossing). With regard to English in advertisements he observes that it "can be used to mitigate the usually disinterested reaction". He also argues that 'Englishisation' (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1999) is a highly differentiated process[19]. At least in the particular ecological niche under consideration, the concept of *Quersprachigkeit* (List & List 2001)[20] seems helpful. The term was coined to focus on the fact that plurilingual practices are often pragmatically organised across or traversing what has been regarded as different language systems. They may involve negotiating translinguistic combinations of registers appropriate to the situation and the addressee or target group and thus a meta-linguistic component. The concept of a special 'transcodic' register of *Quersprachigkeit* has been applied successfully to youth-cultural communication. (List & List 2001: 7, 11f) and seems very suitable for the code-mixed slogans and the specific register for in-group purposes that they reflect. Pennycook's (2001) concept of "English as a post-occidental multirepertoired performance" reflecting sub-cultural identity and style (Preisler 1999) has not yet been spelled out in full[21] but it also seems to apply to the case under discussion. It enables one to look at the spread of English in popular culture not just in terms of 'globalisation' but in terms of the alternative purposes to which English is put without thereby denying the "potential romanticization of appropriation" that could be a pitfall entailed in this approach.

Public use of non-native English as in the examples under consideration demonstrates that English is no longer perceived as something that belongs to

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19 Similar instances of Spanish in American English of 'Anglo' ethnic affiliation (on greeting cards, in advertisement texts, in film dialogues), which are also rationalised as humorous by their producers, have been called Mock Spanish and are regarded as sites of a new elite racist discourse. (Hill 1994, 1993).

20 Cf. the related concept of adolescent language "crossing" (Rampton 1995:280), which is used to refer to an adolescent practice of "code-alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ".

21 Alastair Pennycook, personal email communication 29-08-02.

its native speakers exclusively. Cheshire & Moser (1994: 457) observed that the puns and language play characteristic of native English advertising texts is hardly ever present in Swiss texts, as they would be beyond the non-native readers' power of appreciation. Yet here, non-native users are creative, they engage in language play in a self-ironising way, they use it to shift the tone and to challenge. For some (young) non-native users code-mixing and code-switching and interlingual puns (Thomason 1999:95) are part of their stylistic repertoire, as becomes visible in the advertisements. As in Auer (2000) "...code-switching serves to flag speakers' orientation towards a culture...". But is it affiliation to American culture? It does seem to signal a certain social affiliation to Anglo-American-oriented international youth culture but without disaffiliation from being Swiss, as the underlying German or French idioms indicate. Using English in this way demarcates its users not so much from other languages as from other age groups.

The staged public display of this marked, and traditionally stigmatised, use of L2/L3 English in my examples, its use outside schools in a public context, can be seen as reflecting appropriation. This points to a local undercurrent or counter-current to global 'Englishisation', maybe even anti-Englishisation, which has surfaced on Swiss billboards. Although it is mostly English from above, the institutionalised distribution of English through the education system, that enables teenagers and advertising copywriters to go on to use English for their own purposes, the fact that they do so publicly is a reflection of the spread of English from below (cf. Preissler 1999, Widdowson 1997). Part of young people's *Selbstverständnis* (the way they see themselves), part of their 'identity kit' is their use of English as an occasional register. As Eastman & Stein (1993) put it, language display is a statement of self or establishes a claim to identity. Thus, even though the slogans in the *Postfinance* campaign are clearly staged, and not authentic examples of L2/L3 English in Switzerland, they reflect and reinforce the status of non-native English in Switzerland. While native varieties of English can be regarded as *hors sol*, *Quersprachigkeit* involving English is a reality and it receives social value by being used for valued purposes such as in-group solidarity. In addition, the Swiss experience itself must contribute to a higher acceptance of "mixed" speech (cf. Lüdi, in press). Cheshire & Moser (1994: 465-467) came to the conclusion that English was used as a symbol of Swiss national identity by way of allowing the readers of their advertisements to construct a self-image consistent with the way the Swiss are culturally stereotyped by

outsiders. The slogans studied here, however, are Swiss from within for the young people whose linguistic reality they capture or approximate.

Public reactions and linguistic repercussions

Anecdotal evidence of reactions to the kind of English used in the *Postfinance* slogans sampled from May to September 2002 ranged from lack of comprehension, especially from non-native users of French and (Swiss) German, to critical or appreciative coverage of the campaign in the media and in public space. Three perspectives can be broadly distinguished in these reactions: firstly, comments from within the field of public relations and marketing about the quality and effect of the campaign; secondly, pedagogical or puristic concerns about correctness and the linguistic impact on language learners and the Swiss linguistic landscape; thirdly, the perspective of the target group.

Private semi-professional opinions from within the field of advertisement as publicised on the web[22] criticised or ridiculed the campaign. On www.werbewoche it was insinuated that the slogans had been produced by volunteer contributors to the new PONS Dictionary of Swiss German teenage slang[23], whose advertisement campaign was itself the object of ridicule. In an www.flagr.antville.org webchat exchange dated May 27, 28 and 29, 2002, i.e. immediately after the launch of the campaign, someone attacked the new slogans as Babel fish translations, i. e. compared them to the low-quality word-by-word translations provided by *altavista*'s machine translation service, and concluded:

> aber scheissegal- "i don't give a fuck" tönt da in meinen ohren cooler, [sic] als "shit-equal" oder so =:-)
>
> 'but I don't give a damn- "i don't give a fuck" sounds cooler to my ears, [sic] than "shit-equal" or the like' followed by a 'punk-rocker' emoticon[24]

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22 www.werbewoche.ch/update/adrating/meinungen.cfm?kampagneid=139 accessed 29/08/02 and http://flagr.antville.org/stories/54472/

23 The new *PONS Wörterbuch der Schweizer Jugendsprache 2002* was produced in connection with a competition among Swiss German-speaking school children and their teachers to contribute new and original Swiss German coinages. English , French and Standard German translations were actually produced by the publisher, not the school children. (cf. *Rundgang*. Aktivitäten, Ereignisse und Neuheiten aus dem Klett und Balmer Verlag, Zug. Ausgabe für Lehrerinnen und Lehrer aller Stufen. August 2002/27/2: 15).

24 Smiley symbols called emoticons: http://www.onlinenetiquette.com/email_emoticons.html

In most of the eleven reactions that this posting triggered it was argued that middle-aged advertisement executives and text-writers were too conceited and full of themselves to actually empathise with teenagers. Apart from the envy that these comments bespeak they seem to indicate firstly, that the poster launch was successful. The posters were noticed and their content polarised: a negative emotional reaction is much better than no emotional reaction; secondly, criticism must have come from people outside the age group and (sub)cultural group targeted in which the expressive effect of expletives is given priority over language play. Very appreciative coverage of the campaign appeared on www.swissUp.com, a website intended to link business and tertiary education[25]. The campaign was also very much noticed outside the field.

In *Le Matin dimanche* (cf. Galitch 2002) concern was expressed that even though exposure to English through advertisements may have a positive effect on teaching and learning English at school in very general terms, the teenagers interviewed for the article, who had only had one year of English, could not in fact translate the English slogans they were confronted with. The syntactic violations and literal translations in particular advertisement slogans aimed at adolescents, the article went on, as in "J'ouvre un compte and I pull me", did nothing for preparing young people for encounters with English native speakers. The conclusion hinted that if there was no pedagogical pay-off then the Swiss Romands might consider following the French or Quebec model of linguistic protectionism. Pedagogic concern in public space about a wasted learning opportunity or anger about linguistic harassment without at least the benefit of exposure to correct English seemed to be expressed in a note scribbled directly onto a poster featuring slogan 18i on a billboard in Neuchâtel station's underpass:. "Et vous êtes payé par qui pour nous apprendre l'anglais?" Below, in a different hand, there was this answer: "Par qui? Nous!".

The perspective of the target group is present in public reactions in two ways. A most perceptive comment appeared in the context of a feature on young people's language use in *Fränzi und Fritz* (cf. Burkard 2002a&b, Burkard & Dansuer 2002), a monthly magazine for parents of children in compulsory education. Having explained about the functions of demarcation, provocative taboo breaches and resistance, Burkard & Danuser (2002:61f) observe:

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25 Cf. articles by Yves Nimis dated July 12, 2002 "Die Post baggert die Jungen an" http://www.swissup.com/art_content.cfm?upid=DE2330 and "La poste drague les jeunes" http://www.swissup.com/art_content.cfm?upid=FR2330

> Für Kinder und Jugendliche ist die Sprache aber nicht nur Mittel zur Provokation oder die verbale Form von Auflehnung. Es geht ihnen – wie auch unzähligen Erwachsenen – *um die innige Berührung mit der englischen Sprache*, die den Bezug zur grossen weiten Welt signalisiert. Die Sprache wird zum Spielmaterial mit eigenen Regeln, die auch von der Werbung gerne verwertet werden, wie man zur Zeit auf Plakaten lesen kann: "Konto auf und You can blow in my shoes" [sic] [my emphasis]

Using English is a matter of sense (relation to the whole wide world) and sensibility, as it were: the wish to be intimately and profoundly in touch (in the sensuous literal sense) with English for one's own aesthetic or performative purposes. This is what makes (young) people use the language according to their own rules, for language play, a fact that is exploited by and reflected in advertisement slogans such as the one quoted, and slightly distorted, in the above citation. Even if poetic sensitivity can help an adult empathise with non-native teenagers' motivation to use English this would hardly constitute empirical evidence of the teenagers' own attitude.

In spite of the observer's paradox and the bias introduced by any process of research, the following authentic chat contributions shed an empirical, though not necessarily representative, light on linguistic exploitations or repercussions connected with the campaign. When the campaign was lauched on May 21, 2002 posters featuring slogans 1 to 4 went up on billboards all over German-speaking Switzerland on or around this day. In a message posted on May 24, 2002 (24.05.02, 13:21:53) in a Zug Boy Scouts' chat forum[26] 'chrigi' writes in Turn 1:

> huet am 18.00 goemmer en grill go poschte or you can blow me in the shoes, traeffpunkt rh
> [today at 18.00 go-we a grill go[27] buy "or you can blow me in the shoes", meeting point rh]
> 'today at 6 p.m. we'll go buy a grill or you can go to hell, meet me at rh'

In Turn 2 'fraggler' writes back an hour later (14:21:16)

> aber mini chatz isch scho rächt alt, keine Regel ohne ausnahme!, I'll be there
> [but my cat is already quite old, no rule without exception!, "I'll be there"]
> (referring back to their earlier topic of pets, then switching into English to confirm their meeting)

In Turn 3 'seismo' replies to both of them at 14:57:07

> I too! Schriibet mer das so?
> ["I too!" writes one that like this?]
> I too! 'Is this how you write/spell it?'

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26 http://www.pfadizug.ch/php/view_psz_forum.php?beitrag=1173

27 *gaa* 'go' is one of four verbs in Swiss German that take infinitival complements that are neither bare nor introduced by the regular infinitive marker *z* /ts/ but instead a phonetically reduced copy of themselves. Cf. http://wwwling.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/sle2001/abstracts/web-riemsdijk.htm

In Turn 4 'sürmel' contributes at 15:28:50

> ui [sic]
> possibly a typo for Swiss German *iu* 'indeed' for emphatic confirmation

Then 'fraggler' gets back at 17:20:44 in Turn 5:

> eigentlich: Me too!
> 'actually:' "Me too!"

and in Turn 6 'ig', concludes at 18:02:14 (it is getting late for their appointment)

> vor allem schribt mer...
> 'above all else one writes'

What we can see in Turn 1 is the use of the English part of Slogan 4i. It must either be authentic teenage usage after all or a quote from the billboards. In either case, there is no ridicule intended. Three of the answers confirm the meeting in English, i.e. there is code-switching into English triggered by the use of English for Swiss Purposes. At the same time, there is meta-linguistic concern about correctness from Turn 3 onwards. Turn 5 resolves the insecurity about correctness by convergence towards native-speaker variety idiomatic usage. Turn 6, however, reinforces that what counts is writing (English). What this shows is that code-switching into English is indeed part of the young chatters' linguistic repertoire. The topic-related code-switch is initiated by a relexified Swiss German idiom, but what counts is that it is in English. For these speakers appropriation for Swiss Purposes and convergence towards native-speaker norms are possible side-by-side. What the co-existence of both suggests is that English is indeed a multi-repertoired performance.

Conclusions

As far back as 1986 Carstensen observed that Europeans regard English as a reservoir from which they can take words "at random" (p. 831) and then use them in their languages in ways that are not possible in English. Cheshire & Moser's (1994:468) research into advertisements in French-speaking Switzerland suggested that English serves as a reservoir for symbolic meaning also. The examples of English for Swiss Purposes considered here seem to indicate a new stage in this development. Advertisement text-writers are now doing publicly what learners have been doing either inadvertently or playfully all along, and what young non-native users of English are now doing with increasing confidence in their peer group discourse. They take English words and use them in an appropriated, code-mixed register of English in ways not attested in native varieties of English. The function of this is two-fold.

On the one hand it serves the purpose of language display (Eastman & Stein 1993:187), which functions as an artifact of crossing linguistic boundaries without threatening social boundaries or as a reaction to social boundaries which cannot be crossed. Without thereby claiming (near-) native-speakerhood, non-native users lay claim to a social identity which includes English. They have appropriated English for their purposes, some of which may be truly Swiss in-group purposes which signal solidarity within the peer group and are not intended to conform to anything apart from peer-group pressure. Other purposes will be oriented towards linguistic convergence with the mainstream and feed into a register that is more oriented towards native-speaker norms or the needs of international communication among non-native speakers. On the other hand, the English of the slogans represents language play. By extension of what Cook (2000:165) says about affectionate language play both between and among children and adults, in popular music, in avant-garde poetry, and in nonsense we can argue that

> ...[a]lthough the 'words' [or idioms] have no meaning in the sense of precise denotations known widely in the [native] speech community, they certainly achieve social meaning in their own context. Indeed we cannot stop them taking on such meaning as soon as they are uttered.

The instances under consideration could mean pragmatically, 'we are young, free and confident' or 'we are young, free and different' or 'we are young, free and happy to be Swiss', which sounds uncannily like native English banking and insurance slogans for or about[28] young people, for instance the following by *The Royal London Mutual Insurance Society* at:
http://www.royal-london.co.uk/planning/young_free.htm

> Young, Free and Single
> If you are young and single, why not consider putting your money into an instant access savings account. There'll be cash for emergencies and next year's holiday

But what about denotational meanings? Even if English for Swiss Purposes idioms will never enter the English language in general they certainly have idiomatic denotational meanings for their Swiss users and they are certainly English from the point of view of those who do not understand them. And in at least those cases in which no rules of native English grammar are violated, 'lexification' with English words automatically triggers semantic interpretation. As Cook (2000:166) argues

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28 "Teenagers are young, free and frugal. Many already own shares and credit cards, but teenagers still want to know more about managing money..." at:
http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2002/07/30/1027926886281.html

> ... it is quite impossible, once we 'lexify' by putting actual words in the place of grammatical categories, to prevent them from taking on semantic meaning. If, then, we cannot interpret the resulting sentences as referring to actual reality ..., we interpret them as referring to an alternative reality...

Even if there is no potential for use in Swiss idioms in 'English from above', what one might see in them is the alternative reality of plurilingual users' language play.

What does all this tell us about the role of L2/L3 English in Switzerland? Of all the registers of English used in this country, ranging from the native varieties of British, Australian, American expatriates through native-oriented teaching models and international uses of English as a lingua franca to intra-national lingua franca uses of English, the use of L2/L3 English in the young register of *Quersprachigkeit* is the most localised (Swiss) form of English. This register of English is not *hors sol*, it grows in young Swiss heads, and they like it because it feels Swiss while at the same time giving them intimate contact with the otherness of English. Following Pennycook's (2001) line of reasoning it could be argued that "...this is not merely a process of appropriation and hybridization... but rather 'a celebration of bi or pluri languaging', a focus on 'the crack between local histories and global designs'..." (Mignolo 2000 quoted in Pennycook 2001). The lingua franca quality of the English used in the Italian-English slogans highlights the utilitarian appeal that English has for Swiss communication. The calquing of the German and French code-mixings, made public in an advertisement campaign, highlights two things. The first is that English belongs to its non-native users for purposes of generational-linguistic demarcation as well as for language play and creativity. The second is that the humorous effect depends on non-native awareness of distances jumped and rules violated. *Quersprachigkeit* thus does not exclude co-existence with other, more mainstream-oriented, registers of English.

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Appendix

The corpus of *Postfinance* advertisement slogans

Table 1: Slogans for the German speaking target group: shaded boxes indicate use on billboards

No	Slogan	underlying L1/ML idiom	meaning of the underlying idiom [29]	mental image or origin
1i	Konto auf and I make the fly. Variant: Gelbes Konto [sic] and you make the fly. Picture: Young man with shoulder bag looking at the viewer as if into a mirror, adjusting his bow-tie.	eine/die Fliege machen (middle-aged informants tend not to recognise this idiom as being in current use in German-speaking Switzerland)	to beat it, to disappear used in German military slang since 1939 (to mean 'to flee') and in teenage slang since 1955 (Küpper 1982-85)	to imitate/become a fly, vanish as quickly as a fly (Wermke et al. [2]2002), but the homonym *Fliege* 'bow tie' is depicted in the cartoon
2i	Konto auf and I show you the cold shoulder. Picture: young woman with suitcase wearing sunglasses and an off-the-shoulder blouse looking sideways at the viewer over her naked left shoulder	die kalte Schulter zeigen	give the cold shoulder, reject, rebuff, pretend not be interested, look down on someone arrogantly	body-language: a cold shoulder-shrug instead of a warm embrace assumed to be a loan translation from English (Küpper 1982-85, Röhrich 1991/92)
3i	Konto auf and I whistle on you. Picture: a leggy young woman in knee-socks and shorts sitting on two travelling bags holding a pea-whistle in front of her mouth	auf jemanden pfeifen Röhrich 1991/92 argues that n. *Pfeife* 'pipe' is something worthless [?]	show contempt or frustration, decide to ignore someone, to give up on someone, not to care about someone used at least since the 19th century (Küpper 1982-85)	whistles as a signal (foul/end of match in football), whistling in place of booing for disapproval; used instead of answering whistling shows disdain (Küpper 1982-85)
4i	Konto auf and you can blow me in the shoes. Picture: barefooted young man squatting by his suitcase holding his shoe-laced sneakers	Swiss German du chasch mir i d'Schue blase *du kannst mir in die Schuhe blasen* is not a well-known idiom outside German-	you can go to hell, get stuffed, leave me alone, I don't need you any more Wermke [2]2002 has *er/sie usw. kann mir in die Schuhe blasen* as (vulgar, Swiss, near-dialectal) 'soll	expiration as a reaction to bad odour? (of sweaty feet or sneakers) The *Schweizerisches Idiotikon Vol. 5* (1905) s.v. *blâse*^{n} (p.142) records *Blas-mer i' d' Schueh!* and

29 Translations into English mainly based on Terrell et al. [3]1997.

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	towards the viewer	speaking Switzerland[30]	mich in Ruhe lassen' whereas Röhrich (1991/92:1411) gives a wrong meaning!	*Blas-mer f's (im) Füdle*[e] as two of several formulae of contempt or rejection.
5i	Konto auf or you have the afterlook. Picture: aeroplane taking off into the background leaving the viewer to gaze after it	das Nachsehen haben already used in 'Eulenspiegel' (Low German, 16th c.) (Paul [10]2002)	not to get anywhere, feel cheated, be at a disadvantage, be left standing, not to get a look-in, to be left empty-handed used in German football jargon since the 1950s (Küpper 1982-85)	watch others leave with their share of something and be left with nothing word play on *nachsehen* 'gaze after' i.e. watch an aeroplane (or other moving object) leave
6	Gelbes Konto auf and you are the cock in the basket.	(der) Hahn im Korb sein (*Ob Hahn oder Henne im Korb* used in the German text below the sub-heading)	to be cock of the walk, (in the confident position of) an only male among females, absence of competition, be the focus of female attention (Röhrich 1991/92)	single dominating or valuable cock (rooster) on a chicken run (or sitting in a basket on the way to the market) (Küpper 1982-85, Pfeiffer 1989)
7	Gelbes Konto auf and you get the yellow of the egg.	[usu. negative: nicht gerade] das Gelbe vom Ei sein (*das Gelbe vom Ei* used in the German text below the subheading)	to be [not exactly] brilliant, to get the best part of sth (*yolk* rendered in one-to-one fashion from German *Ei-gelb* as *yellow*)	the yolk is the best part of the egg (Röhrich 1991/92:527) yellow is the brand colour of Postfinance/ DIE POST, cf. Yellow Account, yellowww etc.
8	Gelbes Konto auf and the post goes off.	die Post geht ab	be(come) very active, involving a lot of energy, speed and sweat; depart (Röhrich 1991/92) expression spread through a popular song (1838) (Küpper 1982-85)	speedy departure of the mail coach after the horses have been changed (Küpper 1982-85) dynamic beginning of a party
9	Gelbes Konto auf and you have good cards. used together with a drawing of the yellow	[usu. neg. schlechte!] gute Karten haben often sing. *eine gute Karte haben* (*gute Karten* is used in the German text below)	to have good chances of success, *to have good cards* is sometimes used metaphorically in NS English in this sense,	to have cards likely to win in a game of cards

30 But note that Küpper (1982-85) maintains it has been used as a crude expression of rejection since the 1920s as a euphemism for *blas mir in der Arsch!*

	'Postcard'		the more usual expression would be *to have a good hand*	
10	Gelbes Konto auf and you can make you on the socks.	sich auf die Socken machen *(Mach Dich ruhig auf die Socken* used below the subheading) German *dich* preceded by *du* would normally be rendered as *yourself*	to get going, leave used since the 18th century to mean 'run away'; historically *Socke* referred to a light shoe also worn by comedians (Pfeiffer 1989)	get your socks on and leave without your shoes on not to make a noise or because you are in such a hurry (Röhrich 1991/92: 1578 s.v. Strümpfe)
11	Gelbes Konto auf and you make no office up.	Swiss German keis Büro uufdue *(Ein Büro aufmachen kannst Du woanders* used below the subheading)	do not waste time by being bureaucratic According to Burger (2002:25) *es Büro ufftue* 'etwas kompliziert anstellen' is a supraregional Swiss German idiom known to 94 % of his respondents and used by 56 %	to set up office; one-to-one rendering via Standard German ***Mach*** *kein Büro auf*, which is not, however, understood as an idiom outside German-speaking Switzerland
12	Gelbes Konto auf and you have mega pig.	Schwein haben, with *mega* inserted as an intensifyer (*Sparschwein* 'piggy bank' used in the German text)	to be lucky (undeservedly, unexpectedly) used since the 19th century (Küpper 1982-85); *mega* gives the well-established idiom its young touch	*Glücksschwein*, i.e. the pig as a symbol of good luck (possibly derived from medieval custom of giving a pig as a consolation prize) (Wermke et al. 2002, Pfeiffer 1989)
13	Gelbes Konto auf and you have fun on the picture umbrella.	different strategy!	expression stereotypically used in German-based Mock English on the web (*Bildschirm* also used in German text)	literal rendering of the German compound *Bildschirm* 'screen' as Bild=picture + (Regen)schirm= umbrella
14	Gelbes Konto auf und you can easy jet to London.	different strategy!	*easy* is the most frequent loan in (young people's) (Swiss) German both as an adjective and as an adverb (cf. Schmidlin, in print)	brand name easy.jet reinterpreted as adverb+verb *jet off (to London) easily*

Table 2: Slogans for the French speaking target group: shaded boxes indicate use on billboards

No	Slogan	underlying L1/ML idiom[31]	meaning of the underlying idiom	origin or mental image[32]
15i	J'ouvre un compte and I send you on the roses. Picture: a young woman holding a bunch of roses	envoyer qn sur les roses (informal)	to send somebody packing, send somebody about their business	the thorns of the roses will prick
16i	J'ouvre un compte and you go to make you cook an egg. Picture: young man sitting on the floor between his bags, holding up an egg between his thumb and index finger for the viewer to look at	va te faire cuire un oeuf (very informal, slang, expressing contempt, scorn) a 'better' literal translation might be: *go get yourself boil(ing) an egg* as the semantic extension of English *cook* does not in fact include boiling eggs.	(go and) take a running jump!, get stuffed! *a posteriori* explained as reduced form of *va te faire cuire un oeuf (un neuf) à huit heures* expressing impossibility[33]	sexual or scatological allusion (cf. the egg-shaped double zero 00 symbol for the toilet)?
17i	J'ouvre un compte and I pull me. Picture: someone kneeling on the floor next to their rucksack, tearing or tugging at their own pullover	se tirer de	to get oneself out of (danger, situation)	breaking free, tearing oneself away
18i	J'ouvre un compte and I turn the heels. variant: Compte Jaune and I turn the heels. Picture shows a young woman exposing the turn-up soles and heels of her boots	tourner les talons	to turn on one's heel, turn quickly to face the opposite direction (and walk away) or take to your heels, run away quickly	showing one's heels by quickly turning round ? *montrer (tourner) les talons* or *jouer des talons* or *du talon* is a word play on *talon de l'epée* the 'hilt of a sword'
19i	Ouvre un Compte Jaune or you are in the cabbages. Picture shows a plane	être dans les choux	to be a write-off, to be right out of the running, to have had it, to be among the	derived from *echouer* 'to fail', also: cabbage is a cheap vegetable, *chou* also

31 Taken from The New Unabridged Collins Robert French Dictionary (5th ed. 1998).

32 Most explanations, esp. on the origins of idioms, are based on Rey & Chantreau 1993 unless otherwise indicated.

33 http://www.leximot.net/expression.php3?id_expr=1712, cf. also Rey& Chantreau 1993 s.v. œuf.

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	taking off into the background		last to *finish a race*	*stands for* 'backside, bum'
20	Ouvre un Compte Jaune and you can easy jet to London.	different strategy !	only slogan that is identical to one with a German sentence beginning	brand name easy.jet reinterpreted as adverb+verb *jet off (to London) easily*
21	Ouvre un Compte Jaune and you will be as a cock in paste.	être (vivre) comme un coq en pâte additional borrowing of the meaning of French *pâte* 'pastry, dough or pie crust', which is not included in the sematic...	to live/be in clover, live the life of Riley, to enjoy a life of wealth and comfort ...extension of English *paste* 'sticky substance (made by crushing and mixing food)'	metonymic transfer of the pleasure of tasting *coq en pâte* ('chicken in pie crust') to the victim's position in a comfortably warm bed of pie
22	Ouvre un Compte Jaune and you have the cherry on the cake.	la cerise sur le gâteau	(That would be) the icing on the cake, the cherry on the cake, the unexpected, added bonus	cherries on a cream cake, image of perfection assumed to be a loan translation from English
23	Ouvre un Compte Jaune und you have good cards in hands.	avoir tous les atouts en main (used in the French text below the subtitle)	to hold all the aces to have a good hand, to be in a strong position, have an advantage More obvious equivalence between *avoir une belle main* and *to have a good hand*...	in most card games it is an advantage to have all four aces ...overruled by the need to use the word *card* to go with the yellow 'Postcard' drawing.
24	Ouvre un Compte Jaune and start on the hats of wheels.	démarrer sur les chapeaux de roues (informal) (used in the French text below the subtitle)	to shoot off at top speed, take off like a shot, *or* to get off to a good start	hub caps making contact with the ground when a car (?) is leaning to one side due to high speed (cambered wheels?)
25	Ouvre un Compte Jaune, it's as easy as good morning.	facile (simple) comme bonjour (informal) (used below the subtitle with *simple*)	as easy as pie, as easy as falling off a log , dead easy, very easy	greeting as the easiest part of language and social interaction
26	Ouvre un Compte Jaune and you have	avoir du pot + intensifier *méga*	to be lucky additional borrowing!	(ironical) scatological metaphor: good luck

	a mega pot.	used in hyphenated compounds (*ramasser le pot* used below the subheading)	In fact the semantic extension of English *pot* does not include 'luck' whereas that of French *pot* does.	is what you find in the (chamber) pot[34] container metaphor of good luck? (cf. Aladdin's lamp?)[35]
27	Ouvre un Compte Jaune and you have fun full screen.	Different strategy as *have fun* and *full screen* exist in English but not in this combination with *full screen* as an adverbial; (*en (mode)) plein écran* or *écran pleine page* cf. also *plein la vue*	Full Screen video in RealPlayer enlarges the image window to the greatest size allowable for the clip, full page display to the full, with maximum pleasure	If you open a new window in **full screen** mode this means that Menu bars and the status bar are disabled and you get the maximum view of a picture or video i.e. you don't see a window, the display fills the whole screen
28	Ouvre un Compte Jaune and put the packet!	mettre le paquet	spare no expenses, to pull out all the stops, to put maximum energy or effort into a thing or action	derives from *hasarder, risquer le paquet* 'risk a large sum to win', bundle of bank notes?, deck of cards?

Table 3: Slogans for the Italian speaking target group: shaded boxes indicating use on billboards

	Slogan	**ML Italian**	**EL English**
29i	Aprire il conto and see you later. Picture: Young woman with a bag hanging from her shoulder waving good-bye	ML Italian influenced by German model?	*See you later, alligator!* is a familiar song title; In NS varieties of English *See you later* is an elliptical form of *I'll see you later* for leave taking.
30i	Aprire il conto and take it easy. Picture: Young man resting or sleeping on his back-pack	ML Italian influenced by German model?	*take it easy* has loan word status in Swiss German (Rash 1996a) used in the imperative
31i	Aprire il conto and let me fly higher. Picture: Young man	ML Italian influenced by German model?	from song lyrics? (Green World by Alpha Omega?)

34 http://www.leximot.net/expression.php3?id_expr=548

35 On http://www.leximot.net/expression.php3?id_expr=383 there is a hint that *avoir du pot/cul/vase/bol* has sexual connotations as all four nouns are used as slang expressions for sexual organs.

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	jumping over his suitcase, his arms spread out like wings		
32	Apri un Conto Giallo and you can easy jet to London.	ML Italian	English words are used in the same way as in both the German and the French context: brand name *easy.jet* reinterpreted as adverb+verb *jet off (to London) easily*
33	Apri un Conto Giallo and you are the king.	ML Italian	EL English, but *king* is also a frequently used loan in (Swiss) German; allusion to Elvis Presley? Absence of EL predictive modal due to lingua franca use
34	Apri un Conto Giallo and you have good cards used together with a drawing of the yellow 'Postcard'	ML Italian	English used in the same way as in the German context but with a different effect: EL *to have good cards* is a loan translation from German; *un asso nella manica* used in the Italian text below the subheading
35	Apri un Conto Giallo and you can go wherever you want.	ML Italian	EL English cf. Microsoft advertisement slogan *Where do you want to go today?* *andare dove vuoi* used in the Italian text below the subheading
36	Apri un Conto Giallo and all is very simple.	ML Italian	*all is*... constructions in NS English have an obsolete proverbial feel to them; usually: *everything is* Absence of EL predictive modal due to lingua franca use *aprire l'ufficio dove vuoi* used in the Italian text
37	Apri un Conto Giallo and you make money.	ML Italian	*make money* is an English collocation Absence of EL predictive modal due to lingua franca use
38	Apri un Conto Giallo and you have fun on the monitor.	ML Italian	*have fun* is an EL collocation, the choice of *monitor* instead of *screen* may have been influenced by the fact that *monitor* is used in Italian (but *schermo* is used below) Absence of EL predictive modal due to lingua franca use
39	Apri un Conto Giallo and enter the yellow world.	ML Italian	EL English, but Yellow World has nothing to do with Oxford United's Yellow World, the yellow colour is part of the *Postfinance* brand
40	Apri un Conto Giallo and you get the best.	ML Italian	EL English; *il melio* used in the Italian text below the subheading Absence of EL predictive modal due to lingua franca use

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Anglizismen in der Pressesprache der deutschen Schweiz

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English is gaining importance in almost all domains of everyday life in the German-speaking world. The influence of English on other languages such as German is no longer restricted to technical terms or science, but is socially acceptable and even necessary for German-speaking society. One domain in which many English words would be expected is that of newspaper language. Four authors of M.A. theses, Pia Engler (*Die Weltwoche* – 1986), Anita Kaiser-Panzer (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung* und *Blick* – 1996), Gabi Lämmli (*Schaffhauser Nachrichten* und *Solothurner Zeitung* – 2000) und Stephanie Plaschy (*Walliser Bote* – 2002), analysed the use of English words in different newspapers from the German-speaking part of Switzerland in order to discover whether the readers of these newspapers need a dictionary to find their way through the linguistic jungle of German and English words. This article provides a description of the four studies including their goals, their quantitative and qualitative approaches as well as their results.

Einleitung

Die Medien der heutigen Zeit beschäftigen sich mit den verschiedensten Aspekten des täglichen Lebens, wie z.B. Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur, Unterhaltung und Wissenschaft. Sie sind in der Regel ein sicherer Anzeiger für sprachliche Veränderungen in einer Gesellschaft. Die Sprache der Medienkonsumenten, d.h. der Zeitungsleser und -leserinnen[1], aber auch der Radiohörer und Fernsehzuschauer, wird ohne Zweifel von der in den Medien verwendeten Sprache geprägt. Der Einfluss von Radio und Fernsehen auf die Sprache einer Gesellschaft ist heutzutage meist dominierend, da der Radio- und vor allem Fernsehkonsum ständig zunimmt – vom Gebrauch des Internets abgesehen – doch auch das gedruckte Wort der Pressesprache zeigt Wirkung. Vergleichbar mit Radio und Fernsehen ist das linguistische Material, das in Zeitungen verwendet wird gegenwartsbezogen, d.h. es spiegelt die Sprache einer Gesellschaft zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt wieder und mehr noch es beeinflusst eben diese. Anders als das gesprochene ist das geschriebene Wort fassbarer und eignet sich deshalb ausgezeichnet für Untersuchungen linguistischer Art.

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1 Die männliche Form beinhaltet im Folgenden immer auch die weibliche Form.

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Eine Zeitung erfüllt in erster Linie die Aufgabe, ein breites Publikum zu informieren. Um dieser Aufgabe gerecht zu werden, muss die Information sprachlich so verpackt sein, dass alle potentiellen Leser sie möglichst erfassen können. Verständlichkeit ist das oberste Gebot der Pressesprache, deshalb verwenden Journalisten meist einfache, kurze Sätze, kurze Wörter und Sätze ohne viele und/oder komplizierte Fremdwörter.[2] Die Sprache sollte aber nicht nur verständlich und einfach sein, sondern gleichzeitig auch noch das Interesse des Lesers wecken und ihn dazu bringen, mehr lesen zu wollen und dadurch indirekt den Absatz zu erhöhen. Pfitzner (1978, 37) fasst die Aufgaben der Pressesprache wie folgt zusammen:

- Die publizistische Aussage muss öffentlich sein, d.h. sie muss sich an eine grössere, meist unbestimmte Zahl von Menschen wenden.
- Sie muss aktuell sein, d.h. sie muss noch unbekannte Tatsachen und Gedanken vermitteln.
- Sie muss interessant sein, d.h. sie muss geistige und praktische Bedürfnisse befriedigen, die in der Öffentlichkeit vorhanden sind oder geweckt werden können.

Damit die Verständlichkeit gewährleistet ist, muss der Wortwahl grosse Beachtung geschenkt werden. Nach Pfitzner (1978, 37) ist die Wahl der lexikalischen Einheiten das grösste jounalistische Problem: «Beim Wortinventar muss es sich um Sprachzeichen handeln, die dem durchschnittlichen Zeitungsleser vertraut sind oder durch Kontext hinreichend erklärt werden können; die differenziert genug sind, um Nuancierungen zu erlauben; die zeitgemäss und modern sind, um den Leser zu fesseln».

Inwiefern Anglizismen[3] diesen linguistischen Ansprüchen gerecht, behandelt Pfitzner nicht. Schneider und Raue (2001, 201 ff.) hingegen raten in ihrem *Handbuch des Journalismus* vom Gebrauch von Anglizismen ab. Laut Schneider und Raue sind Anglizismen «aufgeblähte, abgenutzte, unbrauchbare Wörter». Diese Aussage trifft wohl nicht auf alle Anglizismen zu. Es gibt nämlich Wörter englischen Ursprungs, die nicht oder nur umständlich durch ein deutsches Wort ersetzt werden können, wie z.B. *Disco, Doping, Tie-Break*; Anglizismen, die aufgrund wissenschaftlicher, wirtschaftlicher oder sozialer Entwicklungen im englischen Sprachraum meist zusammen mit bestimmten Produkten in den deutschen Sprachraum und entsprechend auch in die deutsche Sprache einfliessen und dort ihren Platz behaupten.

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2 Vgl. Schneider und Raue 2001, 181-224.

3 Anglizismus = «Entlehnung aus dem [...] Englisch in eine nichtenglische Sprache». (Duden 1981, 433).

Jeder Schweizer liest (fast) täglich eine Zeitung. Braucht er dafür ein Englisch-Deutsch-Wörterbuch, bzw. sehr gute Englisch-Kenntnisse? Sind etwa gar keine Englisch-Kenntnisse notwendig, da Anglizismen nur vereinzelt oder gar nicht vorkommen? Was sind das überhaupt für englische Lehnwörter? Und wieso werden sie verwendet? Mehrere Studierende haben es sich zur Aufgabe gemacht, im Rahmen ihrer Lizenziatsarbeit im Fach Anglistik, den Gebrauch von Anglizismen in der Pressesprache der deutschen Schweiz zu untersuchen. Auf vier Arbeiten zu diesem Thema wird im Folgenden näher eingegangen. Es sind dies die Beiträge von Pia Engler (1986), Anita Kaiser-Panzer (1996), Gabriela Lämmli (2001) und Stephanie Plaschy (2002).

An Investigation of Anglicisms in the German Language based on the Swiss Newspaper *Die Weltwoche* – Pia Engler (1986)

Ziel der Untersuchung von Engler ist es, einen Beitrag zur Diskussion über den Einfluss des Englischen auf die deutsche Sprache der Schweiz zu leisten. Engler beschränkt sich in ihrer Arbeit auf die Analyse von Pressetexten der wöchentlich erscheinenden Zeitung *Die Weltwoche*, die sich vergleichbar mit Tageszeitungen mit Aktualitäten, Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur, Wissenschaft und Sport, aber auch mit Themenbereichen wie etwa Reisen, Mode oder Gesundheit befasst. Nach Engler (1986, 4) ist eine Zeitung eine ideale Quelle für Untersuchungen zu linguistischen Einflüssen, da «it covers numerous spheres of interest and is less limited in its language than a scientific periodical, for exemple». Engler stellt zudem die Hypothese auf, dass die in der *Weltwoche* verwendeten Anglizismen von den Journalisten sorgfältig ausgewählt werden, da sie im Vergleich zu ihren Kollegen bei Tageszeitungen mehr Zeit zur Verfügung haben, um ihre Texte zu redigieren. Des Weiteren nimmt Engler an, dass die *Weltwoche* vor allem von Personen der sozialen Mittelklasse gelesen wird, die über einen gewissen Bildungsstand und folglich über Englischkenntnisse verfügen, so dass sich die Journalisten nicht wirklich Gedanken machen müssen, ob die von ihnen verwendeten englischen Ausdrücke von der Leserschaft verstanden werden.

Das von Engler untersuchte Korpus umfasst 25 Ausgaben der *Weltwoche*, die zwischen dem 03.01.1985 und dem 27.06.1985 erschienen sind. Untersucht werden nur reine Pressetexte; Werbetexte, Anzeigen usw. werden nicht berücksichtigt. Von den 3'226 gefundenen Anglizismen werden in der darauffolgenden Analyse, basierend auf bestimmten Kriterien, die an dieser

Stelle nicht weiter erläutert werden[4] nicht alle einbezogen. Der hauptsächliche Fokus liegt auf der Untersuchung von lexikalischen Interferenzen[5].

Engler klassifiziert die ausgewählten Anglizismen nach bestimmten Entlehnungskategorien und Themenbereichen sowie nach deren Korrelation. Bei der Auswertung stellt sie folgende Fragen in den Vordergrund: Welche Kategorien von Anglizismen finden am häufigsten Verwendung? Handelt es sich bei den Anglizismen in der *Weltwoche* um einfache Wörter oder um Komposita? Werden bei der Entlehnung englischen Wortguts bestimmte grammatikalische Wortarten bevorzugt? In welchen Themenbereichen ist die Frequenz der Anglizismen hoch bzw. niedrig? Bei ihrer Untersuchungsmethode stützt sich Engler auf vergleichbare, in Deutschland und Österreich durchgeführte Untersuchungen[6].

Die wichtigsten Resultate der Analyse lassen sich wie folgt zusammenfassen:

- **Frequenz der verschiedenen Entlehnungskategorien von Anglizismen und idiomatischen Ausdrücken** (n=3'226 Anglizismen)

54,4%	Null-Substitutionen (z.B. boomt, *unfriendly takeover*)
27,7%	Teilsubstitutionen (z.B. *Matchbericht, Insideraffäre*)
16,7%	Vollsubstitutionen (z.B. *Entwicklungsland, weltweit*)
1,2%	idiomatische Ausdrücke (*z.B. mein Haus ist meine Burg, American way of life*)

- **Frequenz nach Wortart** (n=3'226 Anglizismen)

92,7%	Substantive
4,5%	Adjektive
2,4%	Verben
0,4%	andere Wortarten

4 Vgl. Engler 1986, 12-14.

5 Interferenz = «Beeinflussung eines Sprachsystems durch ein anderes (a) im Individuum, (b) in der Sprachgemeinschaft» (Bussmann 2002, 314). Neben der lexikalischen unterscheidet die Wissenschaft auch noch zwischen der phonologischen, syntaktischen, morphologischen und grammatikalischen Interferenz.

6 Z.B. Fink 1970, Viereck 1980.

- **Themenbereiche mit der höchsten Frequenz der Null-Substitutionen nach Tokens[7] und Types[8]**

Auslandpolitik	561 Tokens
Wirtschaft	560 Tokens
Thematische Neuigkeiten aus der Kunstwelt	265 Types
Kunst und Kultur	231 Types

- **Themenbereiche mit der höchsten Frequenz der Teilsubstitutionen nach Tokens und Types**

Wirtschaft	461 Tokens
Auslandpolitik	287 Tokens
Wirtschaft	360 Types
Thematische Neuigkeiten aus der Kunstwelt	235 Types

- **Themenbereiche mit der höchsten Frequenz der Vollsubstitutionen nach Tokens und Types**

Auslandpolitik	383 Tokens
Wirtschaft	280 Tokens
Auslandpolitik	145 Types
Wirtschaft	123 Types

- **Frequenz der Anglizismen pro Seite**

  5,1 Anglizismen pro Seite

Des Weiteren untersucht Engler auch die grammatikalische Integration von Anglizismen in den Pressetexten der *Weltwoche*. Diese Analyse befasst sich mit Aspekten wie Orthographie, Genus, Pluralbildung sowie mit Deklination von Adjektiven und Konjugation von Verben. Laut Engler werden die meisten Anglizismen der deutschen Rechtschreibung gemäss der entsprechenen Wortart in der Zielsprache angepasst. Da es sich bei den gefundenen Anglizismen am häufigsten um Substantive handelt, findet entsprechend die Grossschreibung am meisten Anwendung. In Bezug auf die Genuszuordnung

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7 Mit Tokens ist die Gesamtzahl der Anglizismen gemeint.

8 Mit Types ist die Frequenz von Anglizismen gemeint. Wenn ein Anglizismus mehrere Male auftritt, wird er folglich nur einmal gezählt.

meint Engler, dass keine generellen Regeln[9] auf die Anglizismen in ihrem Korpus angewendet werden können. Der Plural der meisten substantivischen Anglizismen wird im Deutschen entsprechend der englischen Schreibweise mit dem Suffix *–s* gebildet, Substantive auf *–y* nehmen oft die Endung *–ies* im Plural an: *Tanzgirls*, *Teams*, *Ladies*, *Parties*. Was die Deklination der adjektivisch gebrauchten Anglizismen betrifft, so passt sich diese laut Engler den Regeln der deutschen Sprache an. Analog verhält es sich mit der Konjugation der englischen Verben: z.B. [...] das Wettbewerbsverhältnis zwischen Schiene und Strasse *fairer* zu gestalten [...]; Der letzte Jogger *sprintet* in den Wald.

Engler kommt in ihrer Untersuchung zum Schluss, dass der Einfluss der englischen auf die deutsche Sprache nicht so gross ist, wie sie anfänglich erwartet hat. Bedenkt man zusätzlich, dass eine grosse Anzahl der untersuchten Anglizismen in der *Weltwoche* Vollsubstitutionen sind und entsprechend von vielen Lesern gar nicht mehr als Wörter englischen Ursprungs erkannt werden, so ist der tatsächliche Einfluss wohl noch geringfügiger einzuschätzen. Anglizismen treten in bestimmten Themenbereichen gehäuft auf; Engler denkt, dass dies nicht immer gerechtfertigt ist und dass Anglizismen dort hauptsächlich verwendet werden als «a means of showing off and an attempt to create the impression of being 'in'» (Engler 1986, 64).

Language Contact. The Influence of the English Language on German – Anita Kaiser-Panzer (1996)

Kaiser-Panzer bettet ihre Arbeit in der generellen Überzeugung ein, dass die Sprache einer Sprachgemeinschaft kein abgeschlossenes, homogenes und statisches Gebilde ist, sondern etwas, was immer wieder sowohl durch interne als auch durch externe Faktoren, wie beispielsweise Kontakt zu anderen Sprachgemeinschaften und folglich anderen Sprachen, beeinflusst wird. Im ersten Teil ihrer Lizentiatsarbeit liefert Kaiser-Panzer entsprechend den theoretischen Rahmen für die darauffolgende Untersuchung über den Einfluss der englischen auf die deutsche Sprache. Dieser Teil behandelt die Gebiete

9 Zur Bestimmung kann zwar auf das natürliche Geschlecht eines Substantivs, auf eine Suffix-Analogie oder auf die Verwandtschaft mit einem entsprechenden deutschen Wort zurückgegriffen werden, doch auch dieses Vorgehen erweist sich nicht immer als allgemein gültig. Männliches Genus: Suffixe auf *–or, -er, -ist*; Weibliches Genus: Suffixe auf *–tion, -ness, -ess, -ity*, Neutrales Genus: Suffixe auf *–ing, -ment*.

der Interferenz, der Integration, des Code-Switching, des Sprachwandels und des Aussterbens einer Sprache. Ferner wird Sprachkontakt und Beeinflussung auf der phonologischen, grammatikalischen und lexikalischen Ebene diskutiert. Im zweiten Teil befasst sich Kaiser-Panzer mit Anglizismen in den zwei Tageszeitungen *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* und *Blick*. Ziel ihrer Arbeit ist es, Sprachkontakt zu besprechen und zu analysieren und dadurch einen Teil an der Diskussion über den Einfluss der englischen Sprache auf das Deutsche in der Schweiz beizutragen.

Kaiser-Panzer wählt für ihre Untersuchung die «popular» Tageszeitung *Blick* und die «quality» Tageszeitung *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, die nach der Autorin zwei Extreme in der Presselandschaft der Schweiz bilden. Beide Zeitungen gehören zu den meistgekauften Tageszeitungen in der Schweiz. Kaiser-Panzer's Arbeitshypothese ist, dass in der *Neuen Zürcher Zeitung* mehr Anglizismen zu finden sind als im *Blick*, da erstere eine gebildetere Leserschaft mit folglich bessere Englischkenntnisse aufweist.

Das Themenspektrum der *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* reicht von Politik über Wirtschaft und Medien, Wissenschaft, Medizin und Technik, Kultur und Unterhaltung bis Sport und Gesellschaft. Der *Blick* ist dagegen hauptsächlich unterteilt in Nachrichten und Sport. Nach Meier und Schanne (1994, 100) «lebt *Blick* gleichwohl von genrespezifischen Themen wie 'Auto', 'Fernsehen', 'Sex', 'Skandal'». Des Weiteren bringt «die Schlagzeile [...] schon 75% des nachfolgenden Informationsgehalts». Kaiser-Panzer führt ihre Untersuchung an je einer Ausgabe (23.10.1995) der beiden Tageszeitungen durch. Sie befasst sich ausschliesslich mit reinen Pressetexten. Gefunden, kategorisiert und analysiert werden 1'600 Anglizismen (1'013 in der *Neuen Zürcher Zeitung*, 587 im *Blick*). Die Autorin beschäftigt sich mit der Kategorisierung von Anglizismen in die verschieden Formen von Substitutionen, wie Fremdwörter, Lehnwörter, Pseudo-Entlehnungen usw., mit der Relation zwischen der Frequenz der Anglizismen und einem bestimmten Themenbereich, mit dem Genus der Anglizismen und schliesslich mit dem Entlehnungsmotiv der Journalisten.

Kaiser-Panzer findet in ihrer Untersuchung Folgendes heraus:

– **Frequenz der Anglizismen nach Themenbereich**

Neue Zürcher Zeitung		Blick	
39,6%	Sport	52,2%	Sport
21,9%	Fernsehen und Unterhaltung	25,6%	Fernsehen und Unterhaltung
38,5%	verteilt auf alle anderen Bereiche	22,2%	verteilt auf alle anderen Bereiche

– **Frequenz der Anglizismen pro Seite**

Neue Zürcher Zeitung	Blick
31,7 Anglizismen pro Seite	28 Anglizismen pro Seite

- Der grösste Einfluss der englischen auf die deutsche Sprache ist eindeutig der lexikalische. Laut Weinreich (1979, 56) ist dies «the domain of borrowing par excellence». Der syntaktische, grammatikalische und auch der morphologische Einfluss des Englischen auf die deutsche Sprache ist eher gering.
- Null-Substitutionen, d.h. direkte Entlehnungen aus dem Englischen, kommen laut Kaiser-Panzer am häufigsten vor: z.B. *Puzzle, Awards, Manager*.
- Kaiser-Panzer findet auch eine relativ grosse Anzahl von Teilsubstitutionen. Diese aus einem englischen und einem deutschen Wort zusammengesetzten Komposita sind laut Kaiser-Panzer in der deutschen Sprache aufgrund des englischen Einflusses immer häufiger anzutreffen: z.B. *Imagesuche, Stadtparlament, Trendanzeige*.
- Vollsubstitutionen sind in der Untersuchung von Kaiser-Panzer eher selten zu finden: z.B. *Attitüde, fotokopieren, Schau*.

Wie vor ihr Engler (1986), so beschäftigt sich auch Kaiser-Panzer mit der Genusgebung der Anglizismen. Sie verwendet dazu die Kriterien von Arndt (1970): natürliches Geschlecht, Wortform, semantische Assoziationen des Anglizismus mit einem muttersprachlich verwandten Wort, Suffix-Analogie usw. und testet dies mittels eines Fragebogens bei 27 Englisch-Studierenden der Universitäten Fribourg und Neuchâtel. Die daraus resultierenden Ergebnisse sind recht unterschiedlich, bei einigen Wörtern erweist sich die

Genusgebung als problemlos (z.B. die *CD*, der *Job*, das *Girl*), bei anderen als eher schwierig (z.B. das / der *Service*, das / der *Fax*).

In ihrer Schlussfolgerung spricht Kaiser-Panzer vor allem über die Art und Weise wie Anglizismen in die deutsche Sprache gelangen, über den Zeitdruck, unter dem Journalisten einer Tageszeitung stehen – was zur Folge hat, dass sie ihre Texte weniger genau redigieren und deshalb weniger auf den Gebrauch von Anglizismen achten – und weiter über das Motiv der Schreibenden, überhaupt englische Wörter zu entlehnen. Nach Kaiser-Panzer gibt es hauptsächlich zwei Gründe, die Journalisten bewegen, Wörter englischen Ursprungs zu verwenden: objektive und emotionale Gründe.[10] Die Autorin meint, dass objektive Gründe für den Gebrauch von Anglizimen in der *Neuen Zürcher Zeitung* vordergründig sind und im *Blick* vor allem emotionale Gründe zum Tragen kommen. Grundsätzlich schliesst Kaiser-Panzer aber, dass eine Kombination verschiedenster Gründe die Journalisten beeinflusst, fremdsprachige Ausdrücke in ihre Texte einfliessen zu lassen. Als solche nennt sie:

- Anglicisms are more to the point than German words;
- Anglicisms create an international atmosphere;
- Anglicisms are more precise;
- Anglicisms are shorter than German words;
- Anglicisms enjoy higher prestige;
- Anglicisms sound modern.

Anglicisms in Swiss Newspaper. Numbers, Themes an Form of Anglicisms in the *Schaffhauser Nachrichten* and the *Solothurner Zeitung* – Gabriela Lämmli (2001)

Auch Lämmli setzt sich mit ihrer Arbeit zum Ziel, den Einfluss von Anglizismen auf die deutsche Sprache der Schweiz zu illustrieren. Hierzu analysiert sie zwei regionale schweizerische Tageszeitungen: die *Solothurner Zeitung* und die *Schaffhauser Nachrichten*, nach ihrem Gehalt an Anglizismen. Lämmli untersucht Datenmaterial von 36 Tagen, verteilt auf drei Jahrgänge (erste Februarwoche 1990, 1995, 2000) und auf die beiden Zeitungen. Die Untersuchung beschränkt sich jeweils auf die Pressetexte im Regionalteil der genannten Zeitungen. Lämmli befasst sich hauptsächlich mit Fragen der Quantität, der bevorzugten Themenbereiche und der Art der gefundenen

10 Vgl. Kaiser-Panzer 1996, 80-83.

Anglizismen. Der eigentlichen Untersuchung geht ein theoretischer Teil voraus, der sich mit früherer und aktueller Forschung in Bezug auf Anglizismen auseinandersetzt. Lämmli diskutiert zudem die Definition des Begriffs 'Anglizismus', die relevante Terminologie sowie die Motive, Anglizismen zu verwenden. Des Weiteren beschreibt die Autorin ausführlich die von ihr angewendete Untersuchungs-Anordnung.

Lämmli untersucht grundsätzlich drei Fragen:

1. Hat sich die Anzahl der Anglizismen in den beiden Zeitungen während des Untersuchungszeitraumes verändert?
2. Existiert ein Zusammenhang zwischen dem Vorkommen von Anglizismen und einzelnen Themen, welche die Artikel behandeln?
3. In welcher Art erscheinen die Anglizismen in den untersuchten Pressetexten?

Anhand dieser drei Fragen stellt sie verschiedene Hypothesen auf, die sie mittels ihrer Analyse zu bestätigen sucht. Im Folgenden findet sich eine Auswahl der Ergebnisse.

- Die Hypothese, dass Anglizismen in beiden Zeitungen in den letzten Jahren immer häufiger auftreten, kann Lämmli nicht belegen. Es gibt zwar kleine Veränderungen, doch sind diese so minimal, dass sich keine verlässlichen Aussagen machen lassen.
- Anglizismen finden aber in den letzten Jahren in einer immer grösseren Anzahl von Zeitungsartikeln Anwendung, d.h. die Quantität der Anglizismen ist nahezu unverändert, doch sie sind auf eine grössere Anzahl Rubriken verteilt.
- Es besteht eindeutig ein Zusammenhang zwischen dem thematischen Inhalt eines Artikels und der Häufigkeit der darin vorkommenden Anglizismen. Dies trifft vor allem auf Texte über Sport und Kunst zu. Lämmli findet aber auch in Artikeln über schweizerische Bräuche und Folklore eine, wenn auch kleine Anzahl von Wörtern englischen Ursprungs.
- Anglizismen sind in den meisten Fällen Substantive. 95% aller Anglizismen im Korpus von Lämmli sind solche. Viele dieser Substantive bilden zusammen mit einem deutschen Wort Mischkomposita.

In einem letzten Teil ihrer Arbeit beschäftigt sich Lämmli mit Beaobachtungen, die sie während der Auswertung des linguistischen Materials gemacht hat, wie beispielsweise mit dem Aspekte der «false loans». «False loans» sind Anglizismen wie z.B. *Handy*, die zwar aus englischen Morphemen bestehen,

aber in keiner englischen Sprache mit derselben Bedeutung wie im Deutschen existieren[11]. Abschliessend behandelt die Autorin die Frage nach der Motivation, Anglizismen in den untersuchten Pressetexten zu verwenden, welche stilistische Funktionen wie Sprachökonomie[12], Lokal-, Sozial und technisches Kolorit[13], Variation im Ausdruck[14] und Euphemismen[15] beinhaltet.

'Party' versus 'gesellige Feier'. A quantitative and qualitative approach to anglicisms in the regional daily Walliser Bote – Stephanie Plaschy (2002)

Die Arbeit von Plaschy ist aufgeteilt in zwei Teile, einen theoretischen und einen empirischen Teil. Im theoretischen Teil befasst sich die Autorin mit dem Stand im Gebiet der Anglizismenforschung, mit den Konzepten der Interferenz und der Integration sowie mit der Definition und Terminologie bezüglich Anglizismen. Sie stützt sich dabei vor allem auf die Arbeiten von Yang (1990), Carstensen (1965) und Galinsky (1963). Im empirischen Teil ihrer Arbeit untersucht Plaschy das Korpus, das aus der Tageszeitung *Walliser Bote* stammt, sowohl quantitativ als auch qualitativ. Der quantitative Teil liefert Aufschluss über die Frequenz der Anglizismen absolut und pro Seite im Walliser Bote, über die Verteilung der Anglizismen auf die einzelnen Entlehnungsmöglichkeiten, über die Frequenz der Anglizismen nach Themenbereichen, über die Frequenz der Anglizismen nach Position im Text sowie über die Frequenz der Anglizismen nach grammatikalischen Wortarten. Im qualitativen Teil wird die Frage nach dem Entlehnungsmotiv anhand stilistischer Funktionen diskutiert. Ziel der Arbeit ist es, einen Einblick in den Einfluss der englischen Sprache auf die deutsche Sprache im Kanton Wallis durch die lokale Tageszeitung zu erhalten.

Plaschy verwendet für ihre Untersuchung sechs Ausgaben der deutschsprachigen Tageszeitung *Walliser Bote*, die von 83,2% der Gesamtbevölkerung des deutschsprachigen Teils des Kantons Wallis täglich gelesen wird. Die Ausgaben wählt sie so, dass über einen Zeitraum von sechs Wochen eine fiktive Woche entsteht.

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11 Vgl. Yang 1990, 12.

12 Z.B. *Team* für Mannschaft.

13 Z.B. *Rhythm'n'Blues, cool, Zoom*.

14 Z.B. *Boom* – Konjunktur – Wirtschaftswachstum.

15 Z.B. *Callgirl* statt Prostituierte, *Fixer* statt Drogenabhängiger.

Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse der Untersuchung lauten:

- **Frequenz der Anglizismen (Tokens) pro Seite**

  1,02 Anglizismen pro Seite (entspricht weniger als 1% aller verwendeten Wörter pro Seite)

- **Frequenz der Anglizismen (Tokens) insgesamt**

  1023 Anglizismen, davon 597 Types

- **Frequenz der Anglizismen (Tokens) nach Entlehnungskategorien**

571 Anglizismen	Null-Substitutionen
445 Anglizismen	Teilsubstitutionen
7 Anglizismen	Vollsubstitutionen

- **Frequenz der Anglizismen nach Themenbereich nach Tokens und Types**

Sport	514 Tokens
Regional	265 Tokens
alle anderen Bereiche	244 Tokens
Sport	291 Types
Regional	180 Types
alle anderen Bereiche	126 Types

- **Frequenz der Anglizismen (Tokens) nach Position im Text**

923 Anglizismen	Textkörper
46 Anglizismen	Schlagzeile
42 Anglizismen	Untertitel
12 Anglizismen	andere Positionen

- **Frequenz der Anglizismen (Tokens) nach Wortart**

981 Anglizismen	Substantive
18 Anglizismen	Verben
18 Anglizismen	Adjektive
6 Anglizismen	andere Wortarten

Im qualitativen Teil ihrer Untersuchung diskutiert die Autorin Aspekte wie: Anglizismen mit und ohne deutsche Entsprechungen sowie die stilistischen

Funktionen[16] von Anglizismen und belegt diese mit Beispielen aus dem Korpus. Plaschy schliesst aus ihrer Analyse, dass Anglizismen einerseits aus sprachlichen, anderseits aus stilistischen Gründen benutzt werden. Einerseits werden Anglizismen im *Walliser Bote* verwendet, weil es keine entsprechenden deutschen Benennungen gibt, andererseits – auch wenn es eine deutsche Entsprechung gibt – um Kürze, Präzision und Variation zu erreichen.

Die Frage, ob die, in der Tagespresse verwendete, englische Sprache im deutschsprachigen Teil des Kantons Wallis einen grossen Einfluss auf die Leserschaft hat, beantwortet Plaschy mit einem eindeutigen 'Nein'.

Schluss

Deutsch, Denglisch, Engleutsch – wie gross ist der Einfluss der englischen Sprache auf die Sprache der deutschen Schweiz? Diese Frage lässt sich anhand der vier in diesem Artikel besprochenen Lizenziatsarbeiten zum Thema *Anglizismen in der Pressesprache der deutschen Schweiz* wie folgt beantworten: die Pressesprache leistet nur einen minimalen bis vernachlässigbaren Beitrag an der Verbreitung englischen Wortguts in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz. Kein Leser der untersuchten Zeitungen muss sich weder ein Englisch-Deutsch-Wörterbuch kaufen noch (sehr) gute Englisch-Kenntnisse aneignen, um weiterhin seine bevorzugte Zeitung lesen zu können.

Fasst man die Resultate der vier behandelten Untersuchungen zu *Anglizismen in der Pressesprache der deutschen Schweiz* zusammen, lässt sich grundsätzlich aussagen, dass der Einfluss der englischen auf die deutsche Sprache eher gering bis vernachlässigbar ist und sich durchschnittlich auf weniger als 1% des verwendeten Wortmaterials pro Seite reinen Pressetextes beschränkt[17]. Dabei kann die Frequenz je nach Zeitung ein wenig von diesem Resultat abweichen. Lämmli (2001) hat zudem herausgefunden, dass die Quantität von Anglizismen im Untersuchungszeitraum von zehn Jahren nahezu stagniert. Es sind zwar immer mehr Zeitungsartikel aus den verschiedensten Themenbereichen mit Anglizismen durchsetzt, doch grundsätzlich ist die Anzahl des verwendeten englischen Wortguts gleich geblieben.

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16 Beinhaltet: stilistische Klangfarben (Lokal-, Sozial- und technisches Kolorit), Kürze und Präzision, Verschleierung, Lebhaftigkeit und Ausdruck. Vergleiche dazu Plaschy 2002, 38-47, 80-97.

17 Diese Aussage müsste durch eine longitudinale Studie der genannten Zeitungen genauer überprüft werden.

Aufgrund der diskutierten Untersuchungen lassen sich jedoch Aussagen über die Anglizismen machen, die in den analysierten Zeitungen Anwendung finden. Dies könnte auch einen Beitrag zur Erklärung der oben gemachten Aussagen leisten.

- Die Entlehnungskategorie der Null-Substitutionen, d.h. direkte Entlehnungen aus dem Englischen, kommt am häufigsten vor. Teilsubstitutionen, die englisch-deutsche Mischkomposita beinhalten, sind relativ häufig anzutreffen, Vollsubstitutionen eher selten. Dabei handelt es sich bei den Vollsubstitutionen um eingedeutschte englische Wörter, die meistens nicht mehr oder nur mit grossem Aufwand als Wörter englischen Ursprungs erkannt werden können. Die direkte Übernahme englischer Begriffe ist wohl deshalb am häufigsten, weil neue Gegenstände, neues Denken und neues Fühlen sprachlich mitgeteilt werden sollen, jedoch keine lexikalischen Entsprechungen in der deutschen Sprache existieren. Ein weiterer Grund für die hohe Frequenz von direkten Übernahmen englischer Wörter liegt in deren Kürze, denn viele sind einsilbig und dadurch handlicher und einprägsamer: z.B. *Boom* für Hochkonjunktur, *Comeback* im Sport für neuerliches Sichbetätigen nach einer längeren Pause als Fortsetzung seiner früheren Karriere.
- Bezogen auf die Gesamtheit aller Anglizismen in den hier besprochenen Untersuchungen stellen Substantive die grösste Gruppe dar. Der grosse Anteil von Substantiven kann wohl, vergleichbar mit Null-Substitutionen, darauf zurückgeführt werden, dass die meisten Begriffe durch Neuheiten in den Bereichen Technik, Musik und Wirtschaft entstehen, für die es oft keine entsprechende deutsche Bezeichnung gibt, wie das z.B. auf *Fax, Soul, Stars* etc. zutrifft. Zudem müssen Adjektive und Verben erst eingedeutscht werden, um in das deutsche Satzgefüge zu passen. Bei allen Wortarten ist jedoch ein hoher Integrationsgrad an die Regeln der deutschen Sprache zu beobachten.
- Es besteht eindeutig ein Zusammenhang zwischen dem thematischen Inhalt eines Artikels und der Frequenz der darin verwendeten Anglizismen. Pressetexte über die Themenbereiche *Sport*, *Kunst* und *Wirtschaft* weisen tendenziell die höchste Verwendungshäufigkeit von Wörtern englischen Ursprungs auf. Erklären lässt sich dieses Phänomen wohl erneut dadurch, dass der englischsprachige Raum in vielen Bereichen wegweisend ist, so haben viele Sportarten, wie z.B. Snowboard, ihren Ursprung in Amerika

und mit der Sportart kommt auch der dazugehörige Wortschatz in den deutschen Sprachraum.

- Genaue Aussagen über die Frage, warum bestimmte Anglizismen in der Pressesprache der deutschen Schweiz verwendet werden, lassen sich nicht machen. Kaiser-Panzer (1996), Lämmli (2001) und Plaschy (2002), die sich mit dem Entlehnungsmotiv auseinandersetzen, befassen sich diesbezüglich vor allem mit den stilistischen Funktionen von Anglizismen und belegen diese mit Beispielen aus den untersuchten Pressetexten. So werden Begriffe englischen Ursprungs zur Schaffung bestimmter Klangfarben (z.B. Lokalkolorit) verwendet, um den Anschein von Genauigkeit und Wissenschaftlichkeit zu wecken, für Variationen des Ausdrucks, um die Ausdruckskraft zu stärken und durch die Bildhaftigkeit vieler englischer Ausdrücke die Aufmerksamkeit der Leserschaft zu fesseln etc.

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Le débat suisse sur l'enseignement des langues étrangères. Vers une réflexion sur l'auto-constitution du collectif helvétique

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This paper proposes a praxeological analysis of the dynamics of Swiss public debate about foreign languages at school. In particular, the question of teaching English before a Swiss national language is examined. This analysis first shows how a local issue becomes a national one in the media and political arenas. It then goes on to examine some key underlying notions of the issue («war between languages», «danger for national cohesion», «problem of social cohesion»). Secondly, it shows how this national and emotional conflict is defused and which form of social regulation is adopted. This leads to questions about the accomplishment of the Swiss (political) community in and through public discourse. Finally, the analysis presents some reflections on different conceptions of school and its relationships with the State and the private sector.

Introduction

Notre propos concerne le débat suisse sur l'enseignement de la première langue étrangère, débat qui a amplement occupé la scène politique et surtout médiatique nationale entre 1997 et 2001. Il s'agira principalement de caractériser la dynamique de ce débat et d'observer comment cette question devient *accountable* (Garfinkel, 1967), c'est-à-dire disponible, descriptible et rapportable en tant qu'enjeu national. Il s'agira également d'identifier les acteurs clés du débat, leur lutte pour la définition du problème et pour la désignation des responsabilités causale et politique au sens de Gusfield (1981), ainsi que les formes de régulation du problème, tant envisagées que mises en œuvre. Nous montrerons que le débat se structure essentiellement autour du cadrage «guerre des langues» et qu'il est désamorcé grâce à des arguments pédagogiques et à une solution régionaliste. Ces observations nous donneront un aperçu du collectif et de l'espace public helvétiques, puisque nous considérons que, dans une approche praxéologique, ceux-ci se constituent dans et par le discours public (Céfaï 1996, p. 49). Cela revient à considérer le discours public comme une pratique sociale munie d'indexicalité

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et de réflexivité (Garfinkel, 1967): le discours révèle l'ordre social, mais de par sa performativité, il le constitue aussi[2]. Cette perspective théorique nous amène à une analyse – encore provisoire – des rapports auto-constitutifs entre École, État et Privé.

Nos réflexions ont surgi dans le cadre d'une recherche en cours sur le discours public relatif à l'école. A l'heure de réformes scolaires assez généralisées qui, en dehors des frontières cantonales[3], n'engendrent pas un large débat public sur la mission et la fonction de l'école, il nous a paru utile d'étudier le seul cas qui est devenu un débat d'envergure nationale et a occupé, pendant quelque temps, la scène publique suisse: la réforme scolaire zurichoise[4] - souvent réduite à la question «langue nationale ou anglais?» ou encore «français ou anglais comme première langue étrangère?».

Le corpus comprenant des articles de presse, des débats parlementaires et des communiqués de presse de la Conférence Intercantonale des Directeurs de l'Instruction Publique (CDIP), nous révèle que le véritable débat s'engage lorsqu'il est question de l'ordre d'enseignement des langues, l'introduction de l'anglais obligatoire ne suscitant pas de véritables oppositions en soi. En effet, c'est le fait de privilégier l'anglais au détriment d'une langue nationale (en l'occurrence, à Zurich, du français) qui pose problème. Ainsi, la presse francophone anticipe un possible problème public en affirmant que la réforme zurichoise «pourrait faire des vagues» (LNQ[5], 13.2.1997). Dans cet article, le problème soulevé par le «Schulprojekt 21» relève de la politique linguistique,

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2 Pour un aperçu de l'approche et de sa mise en œuvre, *cf.* Coray & Acklin Muji (2002, pp. 198-201), en référence aux travaux de Widmer *et alii* (2002) sur le discours public à propos de la diversité linguistique. L'approche devrait ainsi être complétée avec l'étude des pratiques de catégorisation au sens de Sacks (1992), dont l'approche est présentée par Bonu *et alii* (1994).

3 Puisqu'en Suisse la scolarité obligatoire relève de la compétence cantonale, les débats restent souvent confinés aux cantons où des réformes sont proposées. Or, dans la plupart des cas, ces réformes suscitent un large débat sur l'école. Concernant l'enseignement des langues, le cas tessinois de consultation du projet gouvernemental (5.12.2001-8.2.2002) est exemplaire.

4 Le projet de réforme scolaire du canton de Zurich («Schulprojekt 21») exprime la vision de l'école à l'aube du 21e siècle. La réforme est complexe et ne porte pas uniquement sur la question de l'enseignement des langues. D'ailleurs, lors de la campagne locale pour la votation cantonale populaire du 24.11.2002 (où la réforme a finalement été rejetée), la question dite de l'anglais précoce n'a pas été spécialement thématisée.

5 Les abréviations suivantes seront utilisées: LNQ (Le Nouveau Quotidien), TA (Tages Anzeiger), Lib (Liberté), NZZ (Neue Zürcher Zeitung), AgZ (Aargauer Zeitung), NLZ (Neue Luzerner Zeitung), Bd (Bund), TdG (Tribune de Genève), JdG (Journal de Genève), 24H (24Heures), GdP (Giornale del Popolo), CdT (Corriere del Ticino), SGTb (St. Galler Tagblatt), ATS (Agence Télégraphique Suisse), CDIP (Conférence des Directeurs de l'Instruction Publique), CEL (Concept Général pour l'Enseignement des Langues).

comme l'indique le titre «A l'école, Zurich joue l'anglais contre le français». Ce qui apparait comme étant problématique, ce n'est pas tant le fait de rendre l'anglais obligatoire pour les élèves du primaire supérieur, que le fait que cela se réalise au détriment du français, puisque les heures de français diminuent. La présentation du projet de réforme zurichoise mis en consultation est également interprétée comme étant «contradictoire avec les efforts entrepris pour renforcer la cohésion nationale» (LNQ, 13.2.1997). Cette lecture en termes de problème de cohésion nationale et/ou de compréhension entre régions linguistiques est possible de par l'usage, depuis quelques années, de la catégorie «Verständigung» dans le discours public sur la diversité linguistique (cf. Coray 1999; Widmer et al., 2002, ch. 3-4)[6]. Nous montrerons que ce cadrage du problème – dominant tout au long du débat – et la focalisation de la réforme zurichoise sur la question de l'anglais, ont pour effet de rendre marginale, dans l'ensemble du débat, la réflexion sur l'école. La question linguistique demeure au centre de l'affaire et devient une véritable question nationale, dont la responsabilité politique[7] pour sa maitrise sera un enjeu de lutte.

La «guerre des langues»: ouverture des hostilités contre la cohésion nationale?

En comparaison aux décisions zurichoises ultérieures en matière de politique scolaire, cette première annonce n'a qu'une faible réception dans la presse nationale. Cela montre qu'à cette époque, le caractère public du débat est encore moindre. La question semble en effet se poser dans l'arène restreinte des acteurs directement confrontés au sujet dans leur activité de gestion du domaine de l'éducation. Sur le plan institutionnel, la perception d'un problème est bel et bien observable. En plus de quelques articles critiques dans des revues spécialisées[8], en juin 1997 – avant la fin de la consultation

6 Nous verrons qu'une autre description disponible est mise en œuvre pour envisager la question, à savoir celle de «guerre des langues»: «[s]eit die Zürcher Erziehungsdirektion an der Volksschule eine Englisch-Offensive gestartet hat, schwelt in der Schweiz ein neuer Sprachenstreit» (chapeau, TA, 31.10.1997).

7 Les concepts «propriétaire du problème», «responsable causal» et «responsable politique» sont empruntés à Gusfield (1981). Relevons que la plupart des acteurs identifieront Ernst Buschor, directeur de l'instruction publique du canton de Zurich, comme responsable causal de ce qui sera la «guerre des langues» (*cf.* «Der Schuldige», titre, Blick, 19.9.2000), alors que ce dernier en attribue aux Romands l'entière responsabilité (Hebdo, 7.9.2000).

8 *cf. Educateur Magazine* (Revue du Syndicat des enseignant(e)s romand(e)s) et *Babylonia* (Revue pour l'enseignement et l'apprentissage des langues).

zurichoise[9] – la Conférence Intercantonale de l'Instruction Publique de la Suisse romande et du Tessin se dit «inquiète de l'enseignement de l'anglais au détriment du français en Suisse alémanique» et veut qu'une réflexion sur l'enseignement de la seconde langue nationale, respectivement des langues étrangères, soit engagée (ATS, 24.6.1997).

Le débat s'intensifie et se publicise en automne 1997, bien que les différentes positions des acteurs en cause n'apparaissent pas encore clairement, sauf celle de Buschor, qui occupe une place centrale dans l'ensemble du débat. Promoteur de la réforme scolaire, il se montre favorable à un postulat de deux députés zurichois radicaux demandant l'introduction de l'enseignement de l'anglais dès la deuxième classe, donc avant le français (ATS, 28.8.1997; TA, 31.10.1997). Les orientations de Buschor et des autorités zurichoises ne passent pas inaperçues dans le reste du pays, où l'on commence à percevoir l'émergence d'une affaire d'intérêt national. A ce titre, signalons l'émission politique *Arena* du 7.11.1997, consacrée à l'enseignement des langues. Pour la première, et à notre connaissance unique fois, l'émission se déroule en trois langues et est diffusée simultanément par les trois chaines de télévision TSR1, SF1 et TSI1 (ATS, 7.11.1997). Au cours de l'émission, des invités des trois régions linguistiques débattent de la question des langues, de l'«état de la Suisse» et des «grands sujets de discorde entre les communautés linguistiques» (*ibid.*). Cette émission témoigne ainsi de la perception d'un problème entre les régions linguistiques en rapport avec l'enseignement des langues, en particulier de l'anglais précoce.

La visibilisation dans l'espace public d'un problème en lien avec l'anglais précoce préconisé à Zurich amène la CDIP à prendre des mesures. Par un communiqué de presse, le 10.11.1997, elle fait part de sa volonté de «réagir face aux différents cantons qui ont déclaré leur intention de procéder à une introduction précoce de l'anglais dans leurs écoles». Comme première mesure «pour combattre cette tendance» (Matin, 14.11.1997), la CDIP mandate un groupe d'experts, dirigé par le Prof. G. Lüdi (spécialiste de l'enseignement bilingue), afin de poser les bases d'un concept national de l'enseignement des langues (CEL). Par la même occasion, elle invite les différents cantons à suspendre toute décision dans le domaine de l'enseignement des langues jusqu'à l'adoption du CEL.

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9 La consultation prend fin le 30.9.1997 avec 164 prises de position globalement favorables à l'anglais précoce, sauf pour le corps enseignant (Aeberli, 2001, p. 70).

La «guerre des langues» semble être véritablement ouverte, lorsqu'en janvier 1998, Buschor annonce un projet-pilote pour les élèves de 7 ans, qui prévoit l'enseignement de l'anglais par immersion, ainsi que des cours d'informatique (TdG et 24H, 17.1.1998)[10]. Cette décision suscite la controverse tant sur le plan cantonal que national[11], d'autant plus qu'elle ne «respecte pas les accords» pris par Buschor face à la CDIP en aout 1997: mettre en veilleuse ses projets jusqu'à l'été 1998, lorsque le groupe d'experts emmené par Lüdi aura rendu son rapport[12]. Or, le nouveau projet «Schulprojekt 21» avait déjà été accepté le 9.9.1997 et avait été maintenu secret (LNQ, 11.2.1998). De plus, selon Buschor, «[l]e canton n'attendra pas les recommandations de la Conférence des directeurs cantonaux de l'Instruction publique (CDIP) pour lancer son 'Projet écoles 21'» (ATS, 2.3.1998). Cette attitude, considérée comme une preuve de l'«arrogance zurichoise», se répète deux ans plus tard (septembre 2000), lorsque la CDIP aborde la première lecture des recommandations en matière d'enseignement des langues, élaborées sur la base du rapport du groupe d'experts Lüdi et des résultats de sa mise en consultation[13]. A nouveau, dans l'attente de l'assemblée plénière suivante du 2-3.11.2000, les décisions cantonales concernant l'enseignement des langues sont suspendues (communiqué CDIP, 31.8.2000). Cependant, deux semaines plus tard, le gouvernement zurichois annonce avoir décidé l'introduction de l'anglais comme première langue étrangère, «quelles que soient les recommandations futures de la [...] CDIP en la matière» (ATS, 14.9.2000). Le lendemain, la nouvelle remplit des premières et deuxièmes pages; souvent, les journaux proposent plusieurs articles sur le sujet dans la même édition. La réception médiatique de la décision zurichoise est très émotionnelle. Les journaux

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10 Encore une fois, on observe une réduction progressive du projet à l'aspect de l'anglais précoce.

11 Sur le plan cantonal, citons une interpellation urgente des socialistes devant le Parlement (ATS, 2.3.1998) et l'opposition des enseignants au projet de réforme (ATS, 27.3.1998). Les critiques proviennent aussi du côté romand: par exemple, le gouvernement vaudois a officiellement protesté auprès du Conseil d'État zurichois (JdG, 2.2.1998, LNQ, 11.2.1998).

12 *cf.* http://www.romsem.unibas.ch/sprachenkonzept/Konzept.html (consulté le 19.05.2003) pour le rapport du groupe d'experts «Quelles langues apprendre en Suisse pendant la scolarité obligatoire?» du 15.7.1998. Pour un aperçu, *cf.* Pitsch (2001, pp. 151-155).

13 Dans son compte-rendu de la présentation publique du rapport (le 19.8.1998), la presse des trois régions linguistiques souligne l'idée de rendre obligatoire l'enseignement de l'anglais, ainsi que de promouvoir le trilinguisme pour tous (deux langues nationales et l'anglais). Les recommandations de la CDIP formulées en aout 2000 reprennent ces idées qui, comme l'indiquent plusieurs journaux, trouvent l'accord des différents cantons. La presse relève toutefois l'existence d'un point controversé – celui de la première langue étrangère – avec un lexique souvent belliqueux (par exemple: «duel entre l'anglais et les langues nationales [qui] brise les cantons», Lib,1.9.2000). Relevons que la presse romande adopte un ton plus dramatique et émotionnel.

alémaniques parlent d'une «provocation» de Buschor vis-à-vis de la Suisse occidentale, d'une Romandie sous le «choc», «brusquée», de la rage et de l'irritation en Suisse romande. Les titres romands soulignent la «folle arrogance» de Zurich[14], le «forcing» du Conseil d'État zurichois qui «se fiche de ce que pensent les Romands» (Matin, 15.9.2000, en rapportant la réaction de Martine Brunschwig Graf, *cf. infra*). Pour certains journaux, il s'agit véritablement de «guerre ouverte»[15].

Cette conceptualisation repose notamment sur le fait que la démarche zurichoise est aussi perçue comme un «affront» (NZZ, 22.9.2000) vis-à-vis des autres cantons. Ceux-ci sont mis devant le «fait accompli» (NZZ, 16.9.2000), puisque le gouvernement zurichois n'a pas respecté l'engagement d'attendre une décision concertée de la CDIP.

Le fait que Buschor ait «retourné sa veste» (Matin, 15.9.2000) est un argument fréquemment invoqué par Martine Brunschwig Graf, directrice de l'Instruction publique du canton de Genève, à qui Buschor aurait personnellement promis d'attendre la séance de la CDIP (TA, 15.9.2000).

La présentation de la Genevoise – souvent interviewée pour commenter la décision zurichoise – a pour effet de mettre en scène une fois de plus le conflit entre Romands et Zurich. Cela alors même que les journaux ne présentent pas Brunschwig Graf comme romande, mais plutôt comme ministre genevoise[16], comme vice-présidente de la CDIP, ou encore comme Présidente de la Conférence des directeurs de l'instruction publique de Suisse romande et

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14 Selon plusieurs acteurs en cause, cette arrogance reflète la position de domination de Zurich par rapport au reste de la Suisse. Cette description des Zurichois apparait plusieurs fois dans la presse et est aussi illustrée par des caricatures (TA, 15.9.2000). Relevons qu'effectivement le canton de Zurich (souvent personnifié dans la figure de Buschor) apparait comme doté d'un grand pouvoir symbolique, puisqu'il dicte la mise à l'agenda de la question et que les autres (notamment la CDIP) se trouvent dans une position réactive. Cette observation peut également être attestée par le fait qu'en février 2000, le demi-canton d'Appenzell Rhodes-Intérieures avait déjà introduit l'anglais à l'école primaire au détriment du français, qui se trouve supprimé. Or, cette nouvelle n'avait pas suscité la même polémique.

15 *cf.* par exemple «La guerre des langues est déclarée» (Temps, 16.9.2000) et «E' guerra sull'inglese» (CdT, 18.9.2000). Par ailleurs, les expressions «Sprachenstreit» ou encore «bataille des langues» se consolident comme rubriques dans la presse de cette période. Plus globalement, les fréquentes expressions militaires renforcent le cadrage «guerre des langues». Cela est particulièrement évident dans la presse du 28.10.2000 à propos du préavis positif donné par une commission parlementaire à l'initiative parlementaire Berberat (*cf. infra*): «Gare à la guerre des langues. Une épreuve de force à venir» (titre, Nouvelliste); «Enseignement précoce de l'anglais: les députés partent en guerre» (titre, 24H).

16 A ce titre, elle est interpellée sur la situation de l'enseignement des langues dans le canton de Genève (*cf.* Bd, 22.9.2000; AgZ, 26.9.2000).

du Tessin. Cependant, le cadrage médiatique dominant la fait apparaitre comme une sorte de représentante des Romands. En effet, la catégorie «Romands» apparait régulièrement dans les titres des articles qui relatent sa position et devient pertinente pour catégoriser Brunschwig Graf.

Le cadrage de la question de l'enseignement de l'anglais précoce en termes de conflit entre régions linguistiques mettant en cause la cohésion nationale («The end of Switzerland?», titre éditorial, Temps, 16.9.2000) est donc dominant dans le discours public de l'automne 2000. L'analyse de quelques arguments avancés par les acteurs du débat nous amène à préciser la conception du problème et à considérer les diverses modalités envisagées pour résoudre la question.

Langues nationales ou anglais: problème de cohésion nationale ou de cohésion sociale?

Le débat sur l'enseignement de la première langue étrangère fait apparaitre une première position importante, qui considère le problème en termes de «cohésion nationale». Cette position n'est pas propre aux énonciateurs romands. Par exemple, la Commission des institutions politiques du Conseil national réagit à l'annonce de la décision zurichoise en disant que par une telle manière de procéder, «le gouvernement du plus grand canton suisse [ne fait] pas preuve de la sensibilité voulue pour la cohésion nationale» (communiqué, 15.9.2000)[17]. Pour la commission, ainsi que pour l'Assemblée des Parlementaires de la Francophonie, la décision zurichoise «revêt [...] un caractère éminemment politique» (idem)[18].

Du même avis, Martine Brunschwig Graf ne critique pas tant la réforme zurichoise sur le plan pédagogique que sur la procédure et le «manque de vision politique» (Matin, 15.9.2000; NLZ, 16.9.2000). Pour elle, la décision de Zurich est «staatspolitisch falsch» (Bd, 22.9.2000), car elle ne favorise pas la

17 Dans sa prise de position, rapportée par bon nombre de journaux, la commission pose la question de savoir si la décision zurichoise est compatible avec les dispositions constitutionnelles qui obligent la Confédération et les cantons à encourager la compréhension et les échanges entres les communautés linguistiques. Quelque temps plus tard, l'Assemblée des Parlementaires de la Francophonie prend position d'une manière très semblable (communiqué, 5.10.2000).

18 Déjà en 1998, la CDIP souligne la dimension politique du problème (communiqué, 19.8.1998).

compréhension entre régions linguistiques et, partant, la cohésion nationale (NLZ, 16.9.2000; Hebdo, 19.10.2000[19]).

Les thèmes de la cohésion nationale – en lien avec la question de l'anglais précoce – et du caractère politique du problème, peuvent être observés dans les prises de position au sein du Parlement fédéral. Ce dernier avait déjà été saisi de la question de l'enseignement des langues avant l'automne 2000: par le postulat Zwygart et par l'initiative parlementaire Berberat[20]. Suite à la décision zurichoise, une conception analogue du problème soulevé par l'introduction à Zurich de l'anglais précoce est observable lors de la discussion de la motion Zbinden au sein du Conseil national[21]. Le motionnaire souhaite une réforme de l'école obligatoire à l'échelle nationale, dans le sens d'une modernisation autour d'axes structurels communs à tous les cantons. Lors de la discussion du 18.9.2000, les députés se réfèrent avec émotion à la récente décision zurichoise. La question de la scolarité est ainsi subordonnée à la question de la cohésion nationale par les énonciateurs francophones et de gauche (alémaniques et romands). C'est donc au nom d'un intérêt national supérieur que les députés demandent au Conseil fédéral de remplir sa mission de préserver la cohésion nationale, tout en intervenant dans un domaine qui, traditionnellement, relève de la compétence cantonale[22]. De la

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19 L'Hebdo annonce l'organisation d'un débat public à Genève le soir même, avec la participation de Brunschwig Graf et Buschor. Le sous-titre de l'annonce est: «Fin de la cohésion nationale ou nouvelle compétitivité pour les écoliers?», indiquant les positions attribuées aux deux protagonistes du débat (Hebdo, 19.10.2000).

20 Le 7.10.1999, le Conseiller national bernois Zwygart et 4 cosignataires déposent le postulat «Apprentissage d'une des langues officielles de la Suisse comme première langue étrangère», demandant au gouvernement suisse d'examiner les moyens permettant de donner la priorité de l'enseignement d'une langue officielle comme première langue étrangère. Le postulat est discuté et accepté le 13.6.2000 par le Conseil national. Quelques jours plus tard, le 21.6.2000, Berberat et 65 cosignataires déposent l'initiative parlementaire «Enseignement des langues officielles de la Confédération», qui, dans le but d'encourager la compréhension et la cohésion nationale, propose d'ancrer dans la Constitution le principe selon lequel la première langue étrangère enseignée doit être une langue officielle, ce qui exclut le romanche, quatrième langue nationale. L'initiative est adoptée de justesse par le Conseil national le 22.3.2001 et depuis, la Commission de la science, de l'éducation et de la culture du Conseil national est chargée d'élaborer un projet d'article constitutionnel à soumettre au Parlement.
Cf. les Bulletins Officiels de l'Assemblée fédérale, pour consulter les actes parlementaires mentionnés.

21 La motion est déposée le 3.9.1999. Relevons que dans le texte écrit, le motionnaire cite le projet de réforme scolaire zurichois comme un exemple à suivre, car il vise à moderniser l'enseignement, en tenant compte des évolutions sociales, économiques et culturelles. La motion est acceptée par le Conseil national, mais refusée par le Conseil des États en septembre 2001, lorsque le débat sur l'enseignement des langues commence à se désamorcer.

22 Un débat analogue et non moins émotionnel a lieu quelques mois plus tard, le 22.3.2001, au sujet de l'initiative parlementaire Berberat (*cf. supra*). Dans les deux débats, libéraux et radicaux

discussion sur la motion Zbinden, la presse des trois régions linguistiques retient, premièrement, la demande adressée au gouvernement d'intervenir et de trancher sur la question de l'anglais et, deuxièmement, la position de la Conseillère fédérale Dreifuss qui dénonce la procédure zurichoise en tant que «coup de canif assez grave porté à la CDIP» (24H, 19.9.2000).

Au cours de cette phase, nous observons donc plusieurs tentatives de «nationaliser» la question de l'enseignement des langues étrangères, en essayant d'amener les autorités fédérales à prendre des décisions en la matière. La discussion est donc portée sur le plan des principes de l'État («Staatspolitik») et ouvre la réflexion à des questions centrales pour l'espace public et l'imaginaire national helvétiques, telles que la répartition des compétences entre cantons et Confédération, le fédéralisme, le plurilinguisme et le consensus confédéral. Nous constatons néanmoins que ce cadrage du débat sur l'enseignement des langues écarte une autre question politique centrale, à savoir la politique d'éducation, comprise comme une réflexion sur l'école, sa mission et son adaptation au contexte socioéconomique, autant d'éléments qui ont initialement justifié la réforme scolaire zurichoise et qui ont occupé une petite place dans les commentaires des journaux (Matin, 14.11.2000; TdG, 17.1.1998).

Étonnamment, ces éléments discursifs, qui permettraient de mettre en perspective la réforme scolaire avec la vision de l'école du 21e siècle, n'apparaissent pas non plus dans les déclarations de Buschor à la presse. Dans les nombreuses interviews où il est appelé à faire face aux critiques formulées à son égard, Buschor reprend en effet le cadrage dominant, qui réduit la question à une question de cohésion nationale, tout en renversant le problème et en le posant en termes de «cohésion sociale»[23]. Son argumentation est la suivante:

> «Nous assistons à une recrudescence phénoménale d'offres de cours privés d'anglais, et cela, dès l'école primaire. Nous nous dirigeons vers une américanisation du système de formation. Si l'anglais est réservé aux enfants des milieux socio-économiques favorisés, cela conduira à une privatisation d'une partie du secondaire et peut-être du primaire. [...] Or, l'école publique doit rester un lieu où tous les milieux se rencontrent.» (Hebdo, 7.9.2000)

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se montrent plutôt opposés à enfreindre le principe fédéraliste, mais il faut relever que le radical vaudois Christen assume une position énonciative à partir de son appartenance linguistique plutôt que politique.

23 Citons par exemple: «Buschor dit choisir l'anglais pour la 'cohésion sociale'», (titre, Lib, 27.9.2000); «Die soziale Kohäsion ist uns wichtiger» (titre, Südostschweiz, 4.10.2000).

A plusieurs reprises, la presse met d'ailleurs en évidence la pression et la volonté des parents comme arguments de Buschor pour justifier sa réforme (par exemple: «Immer mehr Eltern wollen Frühenglisch», titre, Bd, 22.9.2000).

Bien que ces arguments soient susceptibles d'élargir le débat au rôle de l'école, aux besoins auxquels elle doit répondre et à la manière dont est déterminée l'offre scolaire, le débat continue d'être articulé autour du conflit entre langues et régions linguistiques. On ne peut toutefois pas parler d'une polarisation radicale entre Suisse romande et alémanique[24], surtout après la publication des résultats de plusieurs sondages, dont les résultats – amplement repris par la presse nationale – indiquent que la majorité des Suisses sont favorables à l'anglais comme première langue étrangère, aussi du côté romand[25].

La polémique se poursuit jusqu'en novembre 2000[26]. Durant cette période, bon nombre d'articles, de commentaires et de lettres de lecteurs sont consacrés à la question de l'anglais précoce. Les positions sont variées, aussi bien du côté romand qu'alémanique. Les uns sont favorables à l'enseignement de l'anglais comme première langue étrangère, car il s'agit d'une langue indispensable pour la vie professionnelle, d'une langue simple, pour l'apprentissage de laquelle les enfants ont une bonne motivation. Les autres soulèvent principalement la signification pour le pays d'accorder la priorité à l'anglais par rapport aux langues nationales, ils craignent que l'anglais ne devienne la *lingua franca* ou l'*Espéranto* de la Suisse, ils rappellent qu'une langue a une valeur culturelle et ne peut être réduite à un simple outil de communication.

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24 Relevons la réduction de la Suisse à deux régions linguistiques, les autres régions linguistiques n'apparaissant quasiment pas dans le débat.

25 Le *Matin* publie le 19.9.2000 les résultats sous le titre: «École: Les Romands préfèrent l'anglais», mais cela n'est pas repris par les autres journaux. Par contre, sont amplement publicisés les résultats d'un sondage conjoint du *Matin* et de la Télévision Suisse Romande, ainsi que ceux d'un sondage de la *Sonntagszeitung*, publiés le dimanche 24.9.2000. Déjà en 1997, la revue *Facts* (13.11.1997) avait publié des résultats analogues, qui avaient été mentionnés par de nombreux journaux en alimentant le débat.

26 Une analyse sommaire de la discussion du 22.3.2001 au Conseil national de l'initiative parlementaire Berberat semble toutefois montrer que le débat est encore brulant quelques mois après. L'élément nouveau consiste dans le fait que, lors de ce débat, à ceux qui avancent l'argument de la cohésion nationale et d'une régulation légale, voire constitutionnelle de l'enseignement des langues, s'opposent les défenseurs du principe fédéraliste constitutif de l'identité helvétique. Afin de mieux explorer la problématique de l'auto-constitution du collectif helvétique dans et par les débats publics, l'analyse de cette discussion doit être approfondie.

Dans la presse, l'attente de l'Assemblée plénière de la CDIP du 2-3 novembre 2000 est grande. La séance s'annonce sur un fond de litige et ses résultats sont présentés comme incertains (Berner Zeitung et GdP, 30.10.2000) de par la difficulté des cantons à trouver un consensus (24H, 31.10.2000; AgZ, 1.11.2000). Dans la période qui précède cet évènement, les enseignants se profilent à travers des lettres de lecteurs, des interviews et une prise de position publique de la Conférence des présidents de sections cantonales des associations et syndicats d'enseignants qui «dénoncent une réforme hâtive» (24H, 31.10.2000) et demandent une vaste consultation nationale sur l'enseignement de la deuxième langue (*Educateur Magazine*, 13/2000, p. 39).

Les compte-rendus de l'assemblée plénière de la CDIP montrent à nouveau que la question occupe une place importante dans l'espace public suisse, puisqu'elle fait la une de la majorité des journaux de toute la Suisse. Ceux-ci soulignent la «division des cantons[27]» dans la «guerre des langues», avec un ton plus dramatique en Suisse romande. On souligne également que les cantons n'ont pas trouvé une solution commune ou encore la non-décision qui va de pair avec la non-résolution du conflit – comme si ce dernier était désamorcé par l'adoption par la CDIP des recommandations sur l'enseignement des langues. Plusieurs journaux relèvent que la dispute est appelée à se poursuivre; seul le *Giornale del Popolo* (4.11.2000) fournit des indications temporelles mentionnant que la décision est reportée au mois de juin 2001 et envisage une régulation régionale de la question, qui sera effectivement avalisée le 11.6.2001.

Relevons que, contrairement au mois de septembre 2000, Martine Brunschwig Graf n'est quasiment pas présente dans la presse pour commenter l'assemblée de la CDIP. Cela a peut-être comme effet de commencer à désamorcer le conflit entre la Suisse romande et la Suisse alémanique, mis en scène par la confrontation entre la Genevoise et Buschor.

Le désamorçage d'un «faux problème»

L'assemblée de la CDIP de novembre 2000 semble marquer un tournant dans la position de la CDIP, ainsi que dans la dynamique du débat. Jusqu'à cette date, la CDIP apparait plutôt hostile à l'introduction de l'anglais précoce et semble défendre le principe d'une langue nationale comme première langue

27 Dans ces descriptions du conflit linguistique, les cantons apparaissent de plus en plus comme des acteurs pertinents du conflit.

étrangère, ainsi qu'une approche commune de la question. Or, dès la séance du 21.9.2000, elle avance l'argument qu'il est incorrect de poser la question en termes «anglais *ou* français» et par rapport à leur ordre d'enseignement, comme cela apparait fréquemment dans la presse. Il faut donc «anglais *et* langue nationale» pour tous et les mêmes compétences doivent être obtenues à la fin de la scolarité obligatoire dans les deux langues. Ce n'est pas tant la durée de l'apprentissage que les méthodes mises en œuvre qui permettent aux deux langues (anglais et langue nationale) d'avoir le même statut quel que soit le plan d'études. Cette argumentation semble constituer la voie pour désamorcer le conflit entre des régions qui ont des options différentes quant à l'ordre d'enseignement des langues étrangères[28].

Cette position repose amplement sur les thèses énoncées dans le rapport d'experts dirigé par Lüdi, rapport pourtant disponible et connu publiquement dès l'été 1998. La même argumentation est de nouveau rendue publique par la CDIP le 3 novembre 2000, mais elle n'obtient pas une grande réception médiatique. Elle ne sera pas non plus très publicisée quelques mois plus tard, en juin 2001, lorsque la CDIP ne parvient toujours pas à adopter formellement les recommandations en matière d'enseignement des langues, à cause des nombreuses abstentions (surtout des cantons romands) qui ne permettent pas d'obtenir la majorité statutairement nécessaire.

Ce qui apparait désormais clair lors de la consultation nationale, mise sur pied à la demande des corporations d'enseignants, c'est que les divisions cantonales sont toujours présentes. Finalement, la solution trouvée en juin 2001 pour sortir de l'impasse et désamorcer le conflit consiste à valoriser les points d'accord et à expliciter le terrain sur lequel on peut trouver une approche commune[29] par l'élaboration concertée d'objectifs d'apprentissage et de critères d'évaluation. Concernant la question cruciale de l'ordre de l'enseignement des langues, il est décidé que les réformes seront coordonnées sur le

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28 Ce changement de position apparait également dans la prise de position de la CDIP sur la décision du Conseil national de donner suite à l'initiative parlementaire Berberat. L'inquiétude concerne la réduction du débat à la question «anglais ou deuxième langue nationale», débat qui, dans l'intérêt de la cohésion nationale, doit être évité (communiqué, 22.3.2001).

29 Cette tactique apparaissait déjà partiellement dans la façon dont la CDIP avait rendu publics les résultats de l'assemblée du 2-3.11.2000. Quelques journaux avaient souligné les points d'entente.

plan des différentes Conférences régionales des directeurs de l'instruction publique[30].

Le premier aspect est faiblement relaté dans la presse et semble demeurer réservé aux gestionnaires et pédagogues chargés d'élaborer les objectifs d'apprentissage communs, ainsi que les critères communs d'évaluation des compétences linguistiques à différents stades de la scolarité. En revanche, le fait de régionaliser le débat est relevé par quelques journaux, la plupart mentionnant toutefois que le «Fremdsprachen-streit bleibt ungelöst» (SGTb, 12.6.2001).

Par la suite, à la fin de juin 2001 et en octobre 2002, les Conférences des directeurs de l'instruction publique de Suisse centrale et de Suisse orientale décident d'introduire l'anglais comme première langue étrangère. Ces décisions ne génèrent plus de polémique, ce qui indiquerait que la controverse est enfin réglée.

Il semble dès lors que la solution régionale conforme au modèle traditionnel fédéraliste suisse, ainsi que la prise en charge technocratique de la question, ont permis de retrouver ce que la presse présente parfois comme le «compromis helvétique» (GdP, 4.11.2000), mais qui, d'après notre analyse, semble plutôt être une manière de dissimuler les rapports de pouvoir et de désamorcer une question nationale[31].

Le débat sur l'enseignement des langues et l'auto-constitution du collectif helvétique

Reposant sur une approche praxéologique de l'espace public, ces analyses – encore provisoires – relatives à l'enseignement des langues étrangères, permettent d'explorer la problématique du fonctionnement de l'espace public helvétique et de son accomplissement dans et par le discours public. Elles visent en particulier l'opération par laquelle un problème gagne en généralité

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30 Il existe quatre Conférences régionales: Suisse centrale, Suisse orientale, Suisse nord-occidentale, Suisse Romande et Tessin. Notons que la solution régionale avait d'ailleurs été suggérée par Buschor dans quelques interviews (TA, 2.9.2000; Lib, 27.9.2000), ce qui indique l'état des rapports de pouvoir.

31 Rappelons que le thème du «compromis helvétique» est récurrent dans le discours sur l'identité nationale de la Suisse, pays plurilingue reposant sur une conception volontariste de la nation (Renan, 1882). Or, l'analyse du débat montre que la régulation du problème de l'anglais précoce est possible par la réaffirmation de l'identité suisse et de ses traits principaux, tels le fédéralisme, le respect de liens confédéraux et des minorités, comme d'autres études le montrent (par exemple: Widmer *et alii*, 2002).

(Boltanski, 1991) et accède au statut de problème collectif appelant une régulation.

Nous avons vu que la réforme scolaire zurichoise (réduite à l'enseignement de l'anglais au détriment du français) devient, dans les arènes médiatique et politique surtout, une controverse nationale, caractérisée par les cadrages du «conflit entre régions linguistiques» et de la «menace pour la cohésion nationale» qui en résulte. Ce cadrage a pour effet d'écarter une discussion ouverte et publique autour de l'école, traditionnellement considérée comme une institution du Politique (Mabilon-Bonfils & Saadoun, 2001, p. 4). L'analyse extensive de la dynamique du débat ouvre toutefois des pistes pour reconstruire comment, dans et par le discours, se (re)constituent les rapports entre École, État et Privé[32].

Le débat, qui aboutit finalement à l'introduction de l'anglais comme première langue étrangère dans de nombreux cantons, marque le succès d'une conception pragmatique de la gestion de la politique d'éducation. Cette gestion, dont les garants semblent être surtout les pédagogues et les administrateurs, permettrait de répondre au mieux aux besoins sociaux et économiques, mais surtout à la demande des familles et des élèves. Une nouvelle logique semble donc venir régir la gestion du secteur de l'éducation et pourrait témoigner d'une nouvelle forme de régulation sociale. Celle-ci serait de plus en plus soumise à la logique marchande, car elle envisage les usagers de l'école (et leurs familles) comme des «clients» (titre, Temps, 4.11.2000) ou consommateurs qui, par leur demande, orientent l'offre de formation. Cette observation tend à rejoindre les résultats d'études sur l'école relatives à d'autres contextes, comme la France (Mabilon-Bonfils & Saadoun, 2001, pp. 69-72; Hirschhorn, 2001) ou l'Ontario (Heller, 2000)[33].

Or, une analyse plus approfondie des discours[34] des différents acteurs devra permettre d'apprécier la valeur de cette observation en reconstruisant les différentes «visions du monde» sur l'école (de Cheveigné, 2000, p. 111) qui s'opposent dans le débat. Débat qui, rappelons-le, s'est joué plus sur le plan

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32 Nos premiers résultats semblent pouvoir valider et enrichir les observations de Coray (2001, pp. 178-179).

33 Dans cet article, l'auteure associe l'analyse discursive et l'analyse ethnographique des institutions pour comprendre comment, à l'intérieur d'espaces de production discursive distincts, se construisent des orientations idéologiques (Heller 2000, p. 85).

34 Il s'agira d'une analyse de l'énonciation (Véron, 1987) et de catégorisation, dont l'articulation est présentée par Widmer & Terzi (1999, pp. 8-11).

émotionnel et identitaire que sur le plan de la politique explicite d'éducation. Ce qui laisse ouverte la question de savoir si cette dynamique peut être considérée comme une manière typiquement suisse d'éviter la confrontation politique dans un pays où le consensus est roi.

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Embedded English: Integrating content and language learning in a Swiss primary school project

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In einer zweijährigen Studie wurde ein Teilimmersionsprojekt des Kantons Zürich (Schulprojekt 21) evaluiert, in dem Englisch als Unterrichtssprache in den ersten drei Jahresstufen der Primarschule verwendet wurde. Das Projekt ist eine zweifache Herausforderung: Erstens wirft es die herkömmliche schulische Sprachpolitik der Schweiz über den Haufen, die vorsieht, dass Schulkinder zuerst die Sprache der Nachbarregion lernen; zweitens wurde ein niederschwelliger methodischer Ansatz gewählt, der Sprache und Sachfach in 20-minütigen täglichen Sequenzen integriert an Stelle einer traditionellen Methodik des Fremdsprachenunterrichts.

Die Studie arbeitet das komplexe Verhältnis zwischen Unterrichtsinteraktion und dem frühen Erwerb von Sprachstrukturen (Lexikon, Morphologie) sowie interaktionaler Kompetenzen (Hörverstehen, dialogische Kompetenzen) heraus.

Der Artikel konzentriert sich auf drei Fragen:

- Wie setzen die Primarlehrkräfte die Unterrichtsmethodik um, in der sie instruiert wurden?
- Welches beobachtbare Verhalten der Schüler und Schülerinnen ist mit Lernerfolgen verbunden?
- Was für Kontakte und Erfahrungen mit der neuen Sprache sind notwendig, damit die gewählte Methode nachhaltig wird und die Kinder die Lernziele erreichen können?

Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchungen unterstützen die Hypothese, dass eine minimalistische Teilimmersionsmethodik den Erwartungen der Behörden, Eltern und Lehrkräfte nicht gerecht wird. Die Gründe dafür liegen im Mangel an Kontinuität und Stärkung von neu zu lernendem Sprachmaterial sowie in der Unterrichtsinteraktion, die stark auf die Lehrperson zentriert ist.

Das Projekt muss in seinem soziolinguistischen Kontext betrachtet werden: bezeichnenderweise fördert es die englische Sprache als internationale Verkehrssprache und nicht etwa als mögliche fünfte Landessprache zur binnenschweizerischen Verständigung, was einem Tabubruch gleichkäme. Der Artikel schliesst mit der Feststellung, dass das Schulprojekt 21 einen sozio-ökonomischen Ablasshandel darstellt und Gefahr läuft, die Priorität des Spracherwerbs aus den Augen zu verlieren.

1. Introduction: Project 21 and its implications for English as a second language in Switzerland

Innovation in public education is a fairly rare phenomenon given that schools tend to change slowly and often organically. The phenomena discussed in this paper present an experimental venture in the domain of second language education which is interesting on the one hand for the reactions it has provoked in the sociolinguistic landscape of multilingual Switzerland, and, on the other hand, for the experience itself, as more than one thousand pupils and around 100 primary school teachers were for the first time confronted with the task of learning and teaching a new language.

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It is useful to address the questions raised in this paper against the backdrop of two contexts:

- the reform-driven public school context of the Canton of Zurich in a decentralised and heterogeneous education system;
- the changing landscape of Swiss foreign and second language instruction across 26 cantons and four linguistically distinct regions.

Notably, the experimental introduction of English into the primary school in the Canton of Zurich is only one part of a large-scale project called School Project 21[1], which itself is one of about 14 reform projects initiated under the aegis of an extremely active minister of education. Project 21 is a collection of three relatively disparate endeavours to help primary school pupils acquire «media competency». Networked thinking, working co-operatively in teams, being able to use the computer and its software as well as using the language of communication society, i.e. English: these were the broad objectives which led the Department of Education to conceive, in 1998, three distinct project parts (1. learning in teams of pupils of various ages and grades; 2. learning with computers, 3. teaching in English) which were experimentally tested in a first phase between 1999 and 2002, involving 60 classes in 13 communities.

The speed at which the teachers concerned were trained and briefed as well as the rough-and-ready realisation of the project were rather unusual in the staid political atmosphere of the country. The project initially met with a good deal of alienation and rejection, but was also welcomed by a number of stakeholders, most prominently by parents and school supervisory boards.

Whereas the first project part, mixed-age team tutoring, was favoured by teachers at least on a theoretical level and few people seriously dared to speak out against more computers in primary school classrooms, the responses to English were more mixed: Some observers and stakeholders were worried about the introduction in the first year of primary school of a foreign language as such. This would militate against a diglossic situation where pupils first needed to come to terms with the Swiss standard form of German, having used primarily local dialects in family and playground interaction or, as is the case in about 25% of the Zurich school population, another (migrant) language. Others were concerned that English was

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1 In German: Schulprojekt 21. The figure 21 stands for the 21st Century, to which its objectives are purportedly suited.

preferred over the second national language, French, a move which threatened to undermine Swiss linguistic peace, or rather, a delicate language-political truce which rested on the assumption that every language region had demonstrated goodwill by moving the teaching and learning of the partner's language ahead by two or three years to Year 4 or 5.

Two arguments were provided by the Zurich authorities to defend their controversial choice of English, apart from the seemingly obvious fact that English enjoyed popularity among upwardly mobile parents and ambitious school boards:

- French as a third language would not be endangered, as pupils would start learning French for two years in primary and three more years in secondary schools, reaching the same objectives as they would in English plus some socio-cultural competencies yet to be specified;
- English would not appear as a separate subject in the curriculum (and thus steal time from other subjects), but it would be used as a language of instruction in some subjects for some of the time, providing opportunities for «simulated natural second language acquisition».

The second argument was based on a tacit admission that the teaching of French in primary school in the Canton of Zurich had been something of a failure. Although no thorough study was commissioned to analyse the depth and the grounds for this alleged failure, certain popular myths were allowed to persist, such as that learning in a playful way did not lead to any results that could be acknowledged and built upon in secondary school, that a majority of teachers actively or passively resisted teaching French in the primary, or that no suitable classroom materials were available.

English in Project 21 was intended as a radical departure from the French language teaching as known hitherto, both on a methodological and a socio-linguistic level.

- Methodological: By treating the language to be acquired not as a school subject, but as a tool for communication, the children would put English to immediate use in meaningful contexts.
- Sociolinguistic: By picking a language which is perceived to be popular among children and their parents for economic and cultural reasons, schools would be able to capitalise on positive motivation and to instil a sense of success into the pupils.

However, the departure is less radical than it may seem at first glance. Only 90 minutes are devoted to English as a classroom language without any specific rules as to which subjects are to be taught in English, the training of teachers was (at least initially) less thorough than before the introduction of French, and little thought was given to the coherence of the three project parts, thus forgoing potential synergies.

The specific constellation of Project 21 in Zurich raises a number of questions which should be of interest to innovators in second language education as well as experts and the broader public concerned with the educational sociolinguistics of multilingual countries.

The first set of questions concerns the approach to early language learning chosen by the Zurich project. It was initially referred to as an embedding approach, as English was embedded in the curriculum and subject matter taught and learned through the medium of English. In the course of the first three years, the approach has been slightly revised and now sails under the more well-known flag of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). In order to discuss the broader theme of innovation in second language education, the prime question to be addressed concerns what actually happens in the classroom.

- To what extent and how do primary school teachers implement the method they were instructed in? Do they use English as a means of classroom communication and does this represent a departure from traditional teaching of English as a Foreign Language (EFL)?

Secondly, we need to focus on the issue that is most difficult to survey, particularly as there is no control group available which would learn English in a different way from CLIL or would learn another language, e.g. French. However tentatively, the paper provides a glimpse at learning outcomes at an early stage of the project:

- What observable behaviour by teachers and pupils is associated with learning outcomes?

Thirdly, Project 21 will only have a describable effect on the shifting landscape of multilingual Switzerland if it lives up to the objectives set by the authorities and the expectations brought to it by parents, teachers and authorities. If, on the other hand, the bold initiative by Zurich to subvert the principle of learning the neighbouring region's language first failed to record a success, Switzerland might be confronted with additional tensions. The breach of

linguistic peace could be more easily construed as symbolic by those groups who have always seen the economic hub of Zurich as hegemonic and arrogant. The question, therefore, is:

- Is the CLIL method sociolinguistically adequate and sustainable? How much and what kind of exposure to the new language is required to reach the set objectives?

The Zurich authorities subjected the whole of Project 21 to a scientific evaluation, which was conducted by a group of independent researchers[2]. The authors of this paper were responsible for the English part of the project, and it is on this study that the following findings and comments are based[3].

2. Findings: Experimenting with CLIL

2.1. Evaluating the Zurich Project 21

The Zurich CLIL project consists of a recommended daily sequence of 20 minutes in English, adding up to 90 to 100 minutes per week or about 8% of the weekly lesson load. The project leaders allowed a considerable degree of freedom for the teachers to choose among the curricular subjects, ranging from mathematics and «science» (locally called «people and their environment») to gymnastics and handicraft. The project was started in August 1999 with 30 classes simultaneously in Grades 1, 2 and 3 (ages 6 to 9/10) in order to experimentally gauge the most suitable age of onset.

The set of learning objectives published in March 2000 (School Project 21, 2000) are based on the Zurich primary school curriculum and refer to three years' CLIL exposure. They state that curricular goals must be reached notwithstanding the fact that some of the lessons are conducted in English. In a special language syllabus, emphasis is placed on listening and understanding, but progress in literacy skills (reading, writing) ought also to contribute to «the development of a positive attitude to foreign language learning generally and towards other cultures» (School Project 21 2000, 12)[4].

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2 The researchers responsible were: Georg Stöckli (group leader), Xaver Büeler and Rita Stebler from the Institute of Pedagogy of the University of Zurich; Daniel Stotz and Tessa Meuter from the Department of Applied Linguistics of Zurich University of Applied Sciences Winterthur.

3 The complete German text of the study can be downloaded from: http://www.schulprojekt21.ch

4 In detail, the language syllabus draws heavily on the Cambridge Young Learners Syllabus 1 (created and published by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate UCLES).

The curriculum document recognises the importance of coherence with the next higher level of schooling (in this case, Years 4 to 6 in primary school and secondary school). It also maps out the route to language acquisition and charts some of the theoretical and methodological foundations that underlie the project. It follows the paradigm of simulated natural acquisition and suggests that the «foreign language should be presented in the form of rich comprehensible input at frequent and regular intervals» (School Project 21 2000, 4)[5].

Teachers engaged in Project 21 underwent language as well as methodological training prior and in parallel to the project start. They had to pass a certificate exam set between Council of Europe Levels B2 and C1. The 43-hour methods course consisted of some theory and discussion, materials selection and creation as well as reflection on practice experience. Some of the teachers were involved in teaching assistantships in the USA and the UK.

The two-year evaluation study that accompanied the project focussed on classroom interaction, learning opportunities and studied the transition from receptive to productive linguistic abilities among the learners. It consisted of two periods of systematic classroom observation and two tests (listening comprehension, speaking in interaction)[6]. The sample studied comprised 9 classes with a total of 178 pupils in 3 communities ranging over school years 1 to 3 at the beginning, and 2 to 4 in the second year. The proportion of children who spoke another language than German at home or were bilingual was a high 47%, reflecting the fact that two of the schools were suburban and urban, respectively.

2.2. The method question: do teachers play ball?

Ever since the Pennsylvania Project (discussed in Allwright 1988, 3-10) it has been essential, when innovating in the language classroom, to verify and monitor carefully whether teachers indeed follow the intended methodological prescriptions and suggestions. In Project 21, the focus of the systematic observational component was twofold:

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5 For a critical appraisal of the conceptual foundations of the project see Stotz (2002).

6 1st observation period: October 1999 to January 2000; 2nd period: September/October 2000; testing: May to July 2001.

- first, to observe whether the teachers' choices and ways of fostering language acquisition were in compliance with the implicit, immersive approach called Embedding;
- second, to observe what learning opportunities arose in the complex classroom context characterised by input and interaction.

For the first observation phase, the COLT System (Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching, published in Harley et al., 1990) was used and slightly adapted. It had been conceived for a comparison of traditional intensive foreign language classes with immersion classes in Canada and proved adequate for a first approach to Project 21. The quantitative observation study of 1200 minutes of recorded classroom action was complemented by a qualitative analysis, which used data from interviews with 22 teachers and questionnaire answers.

The main dichotomy of the analysis is that between the implicit, communicative use of the target language (following the principles of an embedding approach, e.g. giving instructions for a school activity involving the creation of a cardboard clock) and the explicit or formal use, where reference is made to the language as a system (in line with more traditional cognitive methods of foreign language teaching, e.g. explaining the vocabulary needed to talk about clock time).

From among the 289 recorded language activities[7], 56% were used solely for implicit purposes. In 28% of the activities, it was a formal feature of language that stood at the centre of the interaction. The remaining 16% of the activities contained uses of English for both implicit and explicit purposes.

This finding allowed a conclusion to the effect that, at the beginning of the project, teachers by and large followed the principle of implicit, embedded use of English in the CLIL sequences while at the same time, there was some confusion and inconsistency. Significantly, teachers with advanced knowledge of English used the language more readily and consistently as a vehicle of communication (77% implicit language use) than their counterparts with (lower) intermediate competence, who seemed to feel a need for explicit vocabulary and linguistic explanation (38% of activities).

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7 A language activity is defined, for the purpose of the observation study, as a classroom interaction unit bounded by introductory instructions for action and/or a shift in the participant configuration.

Thematically, about half of the language activities in this first observation phase referred to school contexts such as maths problems or the completion and colouring of science worksheets. In roughly a fifth of the activities, the class was busy singing or reciting nursery rhymes, whereas a sixth was devoted to classroom organisation and orientation. Only a small proportion (about 5%) dealt with so-called world topics, which range outside school life. Six curricular subjects were represented, with music/singing and maths being most frequently conducted in English.

After the first observation phase it was clear that we were dealing with a genuine attempt at teaching English embedded across the curriculum, which was partly counteracted by a small number of teachers who felt a need for language support and more formal instruction. It was evident from the interviews conducted that some teachers tended to simplify the notion of embedding, defining the approach as «doing a subject in English», «saying in English what you would say in German», «switching to English for part of the lesson». Such views, though perhaps characteristic of an early project stage, tend to cloud the complexities of what goes on in classroom interaction.

2.3. Windows of (learning) opportunity

In the second observation phase, our aim was to work out some of these complexities and frame them with respect to learning opportunities for the pupils. Learning opportunities, as occasions for tacit acquisition processes to kick in, are absolutely essential in the concept underlying the embedding approach:

> Adults and children acquire language by understanding a bit beyond their current level of competence. When learning is stimulating and challenging they are motivated to try to understand new or unknown language. When children learn something new they make guesses and try to understand with the help of the context in which the new information is presented. (School Project 2000, 4)

This view harks back to the ideas of Krashen (see for instance 1985). According to Swain, however, learning opportunities must offer more than teacher-presented or negotiated input. There should be opportunities for the productive use of language by learners so that there is a «push for them to analyze further the grammar of the target language» (1985, 249) and to develop a phonological, morphological and lexical system slowly.

A more fine-grained analytical approach was used to document a week's worth of classroom interaction in the same 9 classes (about 900 minutes were audio-recorded and videotaped). Following Peltzer-Karpf & Zangl's Vienna

study (1998), a speech act analysis of the data aimed to reveal some of the functionality of teacher and learner language and to characterise the turn-by-turn structure of the interaction. For the purpose of this paper, we would like to focus on a central aspect of classroom interaction, that of the relationship between teacher and learner talk, and, more specifically, question-answer-feedback cycles as well as instructional and representational speech acts.

It emerges in the analysis that nearly a third of all speech acts were parts of the well-known pattern (teacher) display question – (learner) response – (teacher) feedback. Display questions serve the purpose of eliciting information that the teacher assumes is known by at least some of the pupils. Chaudron comments negatively on such questions:

> Aside from the possibility that display questions tend to elicit short answers, learners supply the answers for didactic purposes only, so it is plausible that they would have less communicative involvement in producing a display response, and thus less motivational drive for using the target language. (Chaudron 1988, 173)

The pupils in Project 21 did use English to a considerable extent (57% of all learner speech acts), but usually their utterances consisted of one word (such as «yes» or «no» or a figure) or were read out from some materials; a quarter were repetitions, either spontaneous or elicited ones. Learners delivered most of their spontaneous interactions (usually classified as comments) in the local dialect of German. This suggests that there were few productive learning opportunities arising from classroom discourse in which the learners could have tested out their hypotheses.

Of teacher speech acts, 22% functioned to control the class or organise tasks, and, surprisingly, only 10% of 5300 utterances were categorised as representational (telling a story, describing or explaining something, giving information). The second study confirmed the finding that language-related speech acts such as translations, vocabulary explanations or corrections made up a small minority (10%) of teacher talk.

In conclusion, interaction patterns in the embedding classroom resemble forms of exchanges that are typical of most frontal classrooms. The three-part cycle constrains learner utterances as if in a tight scaffolding, and there is little evidence of a push towards the negotiation of meaning, risk-taking and more creative output. Interestingly, a qualitative analysis revealed that the end of the English lesson sequence was often marked by a new participant structure: individual, pair or group work was then conducted silently or in German or dialect.

A year into the project, learners can clearly not be expected to come up with long chunks of language; however, some of the utterances made in the speaking test do suggest that a greater variety of speech functions and emergent syntactic or lexical patterns would be possible[8].

2.4. Classroom interaction and learning outcomes

Expectations of Project 21 were high on all sides concerned. The department of education, in its invitation for tender, had asked for a study of the influence of the embedding approach on the learning success of the children. The timeline for this evaluation was tight, and the tests came at an early stage for a language acquisition study (tests were administered after about 100 hours of tuition). It is with this proviso that the following results should be read.

An attempt was made in both tests to reflect the conditions and contexts in which the pupils had been learning as well as their ages. The listening comprehension test was based on a story that was read by the class teacher and accompanied by colour pictures. The first text was a non-fiction text on wood and trees, modified slightly for the 4th graders. The second part was a story about a witch, and teachers were encouraged to tell the story in a lively way, which inevitably produced slightly different performances.[9]

Table 1 shows that 3rd-year students did best in the listening comprehension test, and overall, pupils scored better in the story than in the non-fiction task.

Table 1: Results of listening test

	Part 1 score *	Trees&Wood in percent	Part 2 score**	Story in percent	Combined points	In percent
3rd year	11.20	60.9%	10.68	83.9%	21.88	72.4%
2nd year	7.90	43.2%	9.22	71.5%	17.12	57.4%
		51.6%		80.6%		66.1%

N = 173

* Maximum achievable score in 4th-year version: 19 points; in 3rd-year version: 17 points

** Maximum achievable score: 19 points

8 In the Vienna study (Peltzer-Karpf & Zangl, 1998) 15.5% of learner utterances were qualified as «creative chunks»; this comparatively high proportion may be due to the participation of bilingual pupils and teachers in the experiment and/or the higher exposure to English.

9 The questions were posed in standard German and required the ticking of pictures and boxes, some labelling and short answers in German.

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The tree and wood text may have overtaxed the learners to some extent, and it should be noted that in the classroom, new information is rarely presented in such large chunks. On the other hand, if English is to be embedded in curricular teaching of «people and their environment», it must be able to carry rather complex content structures.

The test results could also help decide at which stage of schooling to introduce English. In the language region of the project, the standard form of German is introduced gradually in the first grade, which presents a considerable challenge to most pupils. The fact that in this small sample third-year pupils (who were first exposed to English in second grade) did best supports the decision to introduce English in the second school year.

An attempt was made to study the association between classroom interaction and the outcome of the listening test. It emerged that groups with the highest share of formal, language-oriented classroom work were associated with the weakest test results. Classes with the largest amount of implicit, «immersive» teaching did well although they were topped by two groups whose classrooms were characterised by a mix of implicit and explicit features.

The second test, which examined performance in language production and interaction, was characterised by a great deal of heterogeneity. In the test, pairs of children went through a number of interactive activities together with an experimenter[10]. The interaction was videotaped and analysed with a dense set of 25 features within the areas of pronunciation, lexis, morphology, utterance length and experimenter-pupil and pupil-pupil interaction. The test shared some characteristics with a typical embedding lesson.

The results of the speaking test were rendered in an overall score with an estimated maximum of 48 points. Some few pupils did better than that as they provided more and longer responses to prompts in the last phase of the test.

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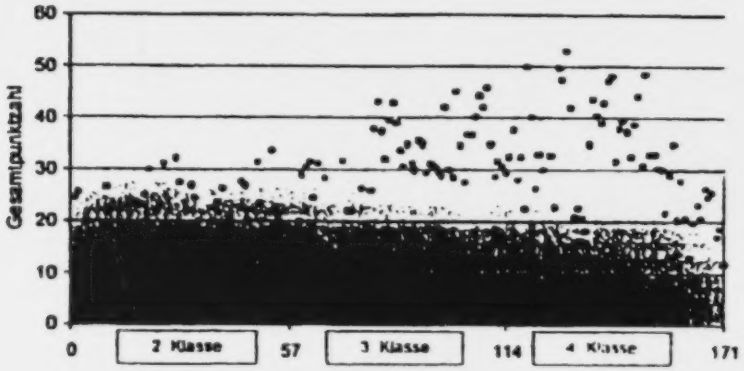
10 Details can be found in the Final Project Report (Stöckli et al., 2001). The test, which lasted about 20 minutes, was divided into three parts: A) *Feely Bag* (Each child groped for hidden objects, named them and, once on the table, compared them.) B) *The farm* (Children named toy farm animals, counted them, did some simple arithmetic and were encouraged to engage in a negotiation, role-playing a farmer and a truck driver who had come to pick some animals.) C) *Pets and friends* (The experimenter engaged each child in a simple conversation about their real-life preferences).

Figure 1: Distribution of results in the speaking test



The scatter plot in Figure 1 may serve as an illustration of the wide distribution of results in the test. In a sense, they reflect the methodological model of simulated natural language acquisition that lets every learner acquire structures at his or her own pace. Add to this the potential impact of the various classroom and learning environments, and it will be difficult to make any claims about the degree of success of the embedding model at this early stage of Project 21.

A more detailed look at the various test features may shed some light on the nature of the learning process. If we take as a departure point the goals that were set for lexis and the naming of objects[11], the achievements in the area of receptive and productive vocabulary knowledge are below par for classroom objects and farm animals, but adequate for colours and numbers. In a word formation and a hyponymy task,[12] pupils could do about 50% of the question on average. The simple conversation at the end of the test occasioned an overwhelming majority of one- or two-morpheme utterances (76%), though some pupils showed remarkable creativity with limited means[13].

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11 Goals for the first three years: They can name and use simple everyday classroom equipment and household equipment (...). They know the names of common forms and shapes (square, circle/ round, rectangular) and can describe in English common surfaces found both inside and in nature. They can compare and contrast objects and living creatures (age, appearance, shapes, and size). (School Project 21 Guidelines 2000, 7-8).

12 Word formation: «This man has a truck. He's a trucker, or a truck driver. This woman has a farm. She's a ....?». Hyponymy: «Take out all the school things. Is there any fruit in your feely bag?».

13 There is space for two examples: «I have a cat, but the cat have not name and this I have in Kosovo, four cat and this cat is big.» (4th Year). «We have a little dog, we have, mir händ no zwei Pferde gha, we have cats, and chickens, chicken nuggets.» (3rd Year).

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A remarkable result was that children with an immigrant background (who did not have German as a native language) did equally well both in the listening comprehension test and in the speaking test as the Swiss German speakers.

Perhaps most significantly, the two classes which achieved the best overall test results (listening and speaking combined) were those whose classroom interaction and input patterns showed a mix of immersion and supporting language activities. It seems that these teachers felt a need for a balance between content and language orientation and turned out to be comparatively successful in integrating the two aspects. They thus epitomise the move away from a simplistic embedding to a more sophisticated CLIL design, with an intelligent choice of activities and materials.

3. Discussion: A language shower

3.1. What lessons can be learnt from Project 21?

The evaluation study ended with the conclusion that, while the second language part of Project 21 was well motivated and firmly entrenched in the project schools, there remained a certain discrepancy between ambition and practice. The seductive metaphor of simulated natural language acquisition, influenced as it was by notions from immersion programmes, is unlikely to find a one-to-one reflection in actual practices for several reasons:

- exposure time is too low and learning opportunities too heterogeneous and unsystematic for sustainable natural acquisition to kick in with many learners;
- a lack of materials and recourse to teacher-directed classroom discourse further constrains the set of learning opportunities arising for uninstructed language learning;
- the simplifying notion, partly caused by insecurity, that «embedding» just means «teaching content in English» fails to acknowledge a complex reality where language support is desperately needed for the pupils to attain common goals.

However, these criticisms may lay the groundwork for a more promising generalisation of the project, provided the sights are set a little lower, i.e. expectations on all sides become more realistic. Rather than an immersive language bath, primary school pupils in a CLIL project can expect to receive a shower, a partially regulated flow of learning opportunities, both with content and language aims.

The project leaders and teachers need to agree on the subjects and themes which are adequate for CLIL and narrow the selection down; they need to specify the kinds of activities and discourse types that are suited, and hence provide tasks and materials. Above all, the emphasis should shift from simple embedding to a thoughtful integration of content and language. In addition, it would be fruitful if the basic motivation behind the project were more transparent and socio-culturally grounded so that all stakeholders could subscribe to it without illusions of easy natural acquisition (see Section 4). While a certain share of freedom may be valid in an experimental phase, constraints and options must be well-defined for the generalisation of Project 21. A sense of arbitrariness would undoubtedly lead to negative repercussions within and outside the Canton of Zurich; it would be grist to the mills of those who favour traditional forms of language teaching over CLIL as well as those who oppose the introduction of English over or before the second national language.

Even during the course of the evaluation study, some corrections were made to the direction of the project. The initially used term Embedding was replaced by the concept of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). Together with a rash of specially made materials folders for environmental studies, this move signalled a consolidation of the approach with a better grounding for language work.

3.2. Putting Project 21 in a European context

Besides being influenced by the teachers and the evaluation team's preliminary reports, the move reflects experiences from other CLIL projects that have been going on in Europe over the last decade and which are extensively described in a recent report published by the European Union (Marsh 2002).

The Zurich Project 21 is a valuable contribution to this stream of experiments and could easily figure among the case studies in the report. It could equally well benefit from insights gained in other countries. If we compare it with some of these European projects, we should focus on three key characteristics:

Degree of exposure: with about 8% of total class hours given over to the new language, the exposure to the new language of Project 21 would be ranked as low. However, at the moment, it does not seem to be feasible politically to increase this proportion as it would undoubtedly be seen as a further

infringement on the second national language in Switzerland (see Section 4 below).

Subject fields and content-language ratio: the freedom of choice and the lack of materials have led to a high degree of experimentation, where in some subjects such as maths and gymnastics the limits of productivity became apparent. Most teachers observed shied away from using English in language arts lessons (such as for story-telling, riddles, rhymes etc.). It remains a moot question whether CLIL should or should not be used in the domain of language and communication education. Some may argue that no terrain should be taken away from the native/local language subject, German. On the other hand, just as Standard German constitutes a competence to be acquired across the curriculum, the same case could be made for the CLIL target language. The European CLIL report cited argues

> ... that subjects, or themes within subjects, should link into *the true contexts of the world* in terms of language and non-language topics. There is considerable interest in offering CLIL/EMILE through theme-designed, modular approaches, rather than just through subjects. The reason for this appears linked to the role that CLIL/EMILE has in initiating change to traditional ways of teaching and learning. (Marsh 2002, 77)

A hint of change was visible in Project 21: preferred activities for the use of English were such things as the day's opening, singing and music, i.e. activities which are not constrained to regular scheduled lessons. This suggests that the new language could be more frequently used in broader interdisciplinary projects necessitating a richer range of language than maths or gymnastics.

Teachers and discourse types: the somewhat hasty introduction of the project meant that not all of the teachers were prepared well enough on the level of language competence, and some indeed expressed feelings of insecurity[14]. As trained and experienced primary school teachers, they found it easier than specialised language teachers might have to focus on content and task rather than on language as a system (possibly involving correction and explanation). On the other hand, an emphasis on the control of the discourse through tight scaffolding of learner utterances constrained the possibilities of learners to take risks and construct novel utterances. A greater emphasis on task-based learning would help to flexibilise and open up the discourse structures available for CLIL.

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14 In future, a qualification at Level C1 of the Common European Framework will be required.

4. Conclusions: The sociolinguistic trade-off

One of the chapters of the EU's CLIL/EMILE report is entitled «CLIL/EMILE in Europe: Added Value», and it is useful to look at some of the conclusions and open questions in Project 21 under the socio-economic aspect. CLIL often arises out of a sense of frustration with foreign language learning at schools, which either does not seem to be able to persuade tax payers, employers or parents of its effectiveness or fails to convince external stakeholders of the complexity and slow speed of language learning processes. CLIL is then portrayed as offering a boost to acquiring additional languages at little extra cost:

> Some would argue that contemporary languages education has often failed to provide platforms for learning which suit a broad range of people, young and older. To learn a language and subject simultaneously, as found in forms of CLIL/EMILE, provides an extra means of educational delivery which offers a range of benefits relating to both learning of the language, and also learning of the non-language subject matter. (Marsh 2002, 173)

This line of argument appears attractive especially to «grassroots stakeholders» such as parent organisations and non-professional school boards. A strong case for the egalitarian perspective of CLIL English is made by the Zurich minister of education who has repeatedly pointed out that private English courses were popular among children from (upper) middle-class families. Public mainstream education was forced to deliver the goods demanded by parents for the benefit of all children.

It is obvious that earlier and more widespread language learning can eventually contribute to enhanced individual possibilities and economic benefits, an expectation that is echoed in the global project aims (see Section 1 above) and that can only be understood if we know that the language at stake is English. English is tied to economic advantage on a level that transcends cantonal and national boundaries (Grin, 1999).

However, different sociolinguistic issues are bound to have an impact on Project 21. Throughout the project, intercultural goals have been conspicuously downplayed[15], and mention of the use of English as a lingua franca for intranational communication is notably absent from the department of education's documents, suggesting that this is virtually a taboo topic. The Zurich authorities obviously try to avoid promoting English as a language of

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15 «We do not in fact believe that it is necessary to teach overt cultural content and therefore that it is necessary for the teachers to receive specialist training in this area. We believe that knowledge of and information about English-speaking cultures should be taught in a wider multicultural context.» (School Project 21 2000 Guidelines Mittelstufe, p. 17).

communication in Switzerland. Advocating English as a lingua franca would undermine the status both of standard German and the other national languages, particularly French. Moreover, it would render useless the national language policy concept that was worked out by a government-sponsored group of experts[16]. A minority view in the CLIL-EMILE report expresses a similar concern:

> A critical factor [...] relates to whether people believe that European working life communication will be increasingly dominated by one single language. There is opinion that a dominant 'lingua franca' type language such as English can be used, for example, to start CLIL/EMILE, but because the *youngsters will pick English up anyway*, other languages should be learnt using this approach. *(It) builds the ability to learn other languages and this capacity is more developed in the students who have studied in two languages* (Hans-Ludwig Krechel). (Marsh 2002, 68)

In effect, despite the pervasiveness of English, other languages are often more closely woven into the Swiss primary school context, for instance with the presence of a great proportion of bilingual pupils speaking Italian, Spanish, Serb/Croat or Albanian as their first language and with the geography of Switzerland (including the French and Italian-speaking regions) being part of the curriculum (cf. Stotz, 2002).

In Project 21, a qualitative ethnographic analysis has revealed that English is used less as a vehicle of intercultural communication than a tool for content learning. This evidence would lend support to the hypothesis that using the CLIL approach is designed to mitigate the detrimental effect that the choice of English as a first additional language may have on language politics in Switzerland. If English is not installed as a separate subject in the curriculum and if it does not serve as a lingua franca in the school context, but adds to some future socio-economic advantage, it can be defended more easily to critics both from the language policy and the educational fields as something quite harmless.

In sum, we are witnessing a trade-off such that proponents of Project 21 offer added value in the form of an additional language at little curricular cost, while at the same time they maintain that neither are educational aims hampered, nor is the status of the second national language affected as students are expected to leave school with similar competence in English and French at the end of obligatory schooling. The costs to pay for this trade-off are the low exposure to English, and hence slow progress, and a certain arbitrariness in the choice of subjects and the content-language ratio, which has led to some

16 Cf. http://www.romsem.unibas.ch/sprachenkonzept/konzept.html

rather heterogeneous results and may well turn out to be a future liability. The argument that Swiss students would «pick up English anyway» and that the early language slot should be opened for «other languages» (Marsh 2002, 68) is simply ignored.

The experimental introduction of English into the Zurich primary curriculum does not simply mean a replacement of French as most favoured language and an earlier onset of language learning as a result of psycholinguistic insights. More than that, it is testimony of a shift towards a more serious role for language learning, as Takala states in the report on CLIL/EMILE in Europe:

> It is not, however, only the scope of language teaching and learning that has changed dramatically. There has also been an obvious change in the role of foreign language proficiency: from being largely a part of general education, it has [come to be seen as] a major part of many people's professional competence. (Marsh 2002, 40)

The prospective introduction of second languages into most vocational education curricula is further evidence of this trend. Given this shift, heightened care should be taken to reflect the sociolinguistic issues underlying choice of languages and methodology. A fruitful research-based debate could ensue in Switzerland, which would quickly reveal any hidden agendas and which would also need to respond to those voices who claim that we are exaggerating the need for and feasibility of multilingualism for everyone[17].

The opportunity for a multi-variable analysis of the impact of primary-school language programmes in Switzerland is unique, and it would be a mistake to write off the Zurich experiment as a half-failure with negligible consequences. On the contrary, Swiss federalism with its heterogeneous education systems triggers a great deal of competition, and while efforts towards harmonisation should be made, best practice examples should be carefully compared with each other before any choices are made. The matrix below shows what combinations of methodology and language choice will soon become available for study.

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17 For a contribution to this debate see Perrenoud 2001.

Variables for research approaches in Swiss public schools

Age of onset	Language	Methodology	Region
▪ 2nd year ▪ 3rd year ▪ 5th year ▪ 7th year	▪ Second national language as 1st additional language ▪ English as 1st additional language ▪ Second national language as 2nd additional language ▪ English as 2nd additional language	▪ CLIL ▪ Communicative foreign language teaching ▪ Blended methods	▪ Close to intra-Swiss language border ▪ Distant from language border ▪ Bi- or trilingual canton

In addition, it would be useful to study the impact of early English on the later acquisition of French, and possibly other languages in Zurich and elsewhere. Such research endeavours should insert themselves into the wave of European CLIL studies and make use of available insights. In brief, the Zurich project should not remain the only one to be studied critically and in depth and could thus help pave the way towards a greater understanding of education in the plurilingual society of the 21st century.

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What's wrong with our Swiss students' English? An analysis of advanced learners' written productions

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Englischsprachige Texte von Studierenden deutscher, italienischer und englischer Muttersprache im Abschluss-Semester eines Übersetzerstudiengangs in der Schweiz wurden von drei verschiedenen Kategorien von Ratern einer Fehleranalyse unterzogen. Die automatische Software (MS Word®) stellte bezüglich der Anzahl erkannter Fehler zwischen den drei Muttersprachen keine Unterschiede fest. Eine Fachperson als Rater wie auch nicht-muttersprachliche Rater identifizierten in den Texten von italienisch- und deutsch-muttersprachlichen Studierenden mehr Fehler als in denjenigen von englisch-muttersprachlichen. Die nicht-muttersprachlichen Rater fanden zahlreiche Unstimmigkeiten, insbesondere in Texten von Verfassern anderer Muttersprache als ihrer eigenen. Die Beurteilung durch die Fachperson zeigte Unterschiede in der Distribution der Fehler in den drei Sprachgruppen. Eine qualitative Analyse der Fehler führt zu nützlichen Erkenntnissen für Perspektiven der Unterrichtspraxis in Aufsatz und Textoptimierung für weit fortgeschrittene Lernende. Zudem werden Unterschiede zwischen den Sprachgruppen aufgezeigt sowie Schlussfolgerungen für den Unterricht in Englisch als Fremdsprache (EFL) in der Schweiz gezogen.

Introduction

Students accepted to the translation program at our university already possess a high level of English language proficiency. The test they take prior to definite admission includes receptive and productive competence components. In the receptive competence sections of the test that assess awareness of prescriptive grammar and stylistic conventions at the sentence level, scores are often excellent. Results for spontaneous writing or even guided writing tasks have been less convincing, however. Assessors have been heard to comment something to the effect of, "If only they could string two sentences together and make sense!". Writing instructors in the program confirm that the initial assessments are a realistic indication of students' later performance in producing English texts. Despite meeting the translation program's objective of perfect or near-perfect English, even final-semester students' written productions frequently evince characteristics that do not conform to essential text conventions in the language. The question of interest here is whether

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there is a typical 'accent' in our non-native students' writing and, if so, what that can be attributed to. The ultimate goal of such research is to optimize the teaching of English composition in Switzerland, particularly to native German and Italian speakers.

Sentence-level errors (such as lack of subject-verb agreement), word-level errors (such as inappropriate morphological endings or incorrect spellings), and punctuation errors (such as commas before *that* noun clauses) are familiar to teachers of English in Switzerland and around the world. There are many readily available reference works (e.g. Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990; Swan, 1995) that describe the generally accepted rules and usage for modern written English, and a focus on the sentence may well result in grammatically correct productions. Such well-formedness is not necessarily a guarantee of natural English (see McCarthy, 1988; Owen, 1988; and Sinclair, 1988 for a discussion of naturalness). For example, grammatical structures common in another language may be grammatically possible but very unusual in English (and correspondingly marked, see Schmid, 1999). James (1998, 71) outlines eight ways that grammatical utterances might be unacceptable. At the level of translation, it is crucial for translated texts which should read fluently to be written in natural English with structures, lexis, and collocations appropriate to the register and intended audience. In fact, a lack of naturalness in our students' language (perhaps resulting from a choice of excessively formal lexis and structures) has even prompted praise from native speakers who consider the non-native speakers' English 'better' than their own. To meet the demand for so-called 'real English' input, corpus-based grammars offer information on which structures actually occur with what frequency in which types of texts and discourse (e.g. Collins Cobuild, 1990; Biber et al., 1999). Nevertheless, it is not clear to what extent these corpus-based approaches to the description of English have yet made an impact in teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) in Switzerland.

For the level beyond the sentence, developments in text linguistics and discourse analysis (cf. Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Werlich, 1982; Hatim & Mason, 1990; McCarthy, 1991, McCarthy & Carter, 1994) supply explanations and tools for understanding language use and functions that could be extremely helpful to learners. In years of teaching in a translation program, we have found that these approaches give our students the tools they require to help them cope with understanding and translating the wide variety of English texts common in Switzerland today. Applying the same sorts of tools to evaluate productions of highly proficient Swiss students should provide us with

pedagogically useful insights into why relatively error-free English might still seem unnatural.

The present study

Of interest in the present article is not only how our Swiss students deviate from accepted English and/or violate text conventions. We are also interested in whether there are general differences attributable to their native languages (in this particular study, Swiss-German/German and Italian). The comparison is to texts produced under similar constraints by native speakers of English in the same university program rather than to an idealized version of the language. It would be unrealistic to expect non-native speakers to produce error-free compositions when native speakers do not. What sorts of mistakes (as opposed to errors; cf. Ellis, 1997; or James, 1998) and deviations (misuse of words, lack of clarity, etc.) do native speakers make in their written texts? Do our non-native speakers make similar types of mistakes, or are their errors somehow different? Do native speakers of Swiss-German/German make the same sorts of errors as native speakers of Italian, suggesting there is something difficult about particular English structures and writing conventions, or are their errors traceable to interference from their native languages? Finally, how good are our very advanced non-native speakers of English at identifying errors produced by native and non-native speakers of English?

Like most of the students at universities in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, the majority of our students acquired a dialect of Swiss-German as their first language and learned to read and write in German. In order to qualify for and succeed in the translation program with German as their first language, their active and receptive competence in standard German must be very high. There are quite a number of native speakers of Italian in our program, again with very high levels of competence in standard Italian. Whether ideal or not in linguistic terms, the reality of the Swiss marketplace dictates that our students should have the ability to translate not only into their native language, but into at least one active second language as well. Excellent writing and translation skills are not always enough: some of our graduates are also expected to be copy editors. The ability to isolate and correct errors and violations of text conventions can be crucial to our non-native graduates' success in the marketplace of professional English.

The question that arises is how our students can best achieve such a high level in their English productions. Firstly, they can rely on their own error

identification skills. Previous work has shown that non-native speakers are quite sensitive to both native speaker and non-native speaker sentence-level errors (cf. Derwing et al., 2002). A further source of help might be text editing tools such as those readily available in one of the most commonly used software applications (MS Word®). However, neither of the above might correspond to the high demands made by a native speaker employer or editor.

Method

As part of a larger research project investigating naturalness in non-native written productions of English, an analysis of errors in English texts was carried out by different judges (Expert, MS Word®, and NNS) on 15 English texts written by adult native speakers of German, Italian, and English (5 each). The texts, randomly selected from a larger sample, were all part of the final-semester requirements for the translation diploma and were elicited under identical examination conditions (dictionaries available, time limit of 2 hours, hand-written, no editing aids, desired length about 250 words). They were so-called verbalizations of a cartoon or caricature that had appeared in the popular press: the instructions were to describe the illustration, explain the illustrator's point, and provide an effective conclusion. All of the writers were familiar with the task, having done similar exercises in class.

The native speakers of German and Italian who produced the texts all had English as their so-called B language in the translation program, meaning that they were considered proficient enough to translate both out of English into their native language and into English from their native language. The B language standing is based on the results of an objective entrance examination, academic success for at least one semester at a university in an English-speaking country, and successful completion of English composition and translation courses. The native English speakers had all been raised with English as their home language, had received their primary and secondary education with English as the language of instruction, and had at least one parent who was a native speaker of English.

The original hand-written texts were entered into identically-formatted Microsoft Word® text files with all errors and irregularities intact and were independently checked by research assistants not involved in the present study. The text coding indicated whether American English or British English standards should be used but gave no indication of the identity or native language of the writer.

The native speaker Expert judge, with linguistic training and years of experience marking English compositions produced by students at this level (CR, one of the co-authors), identified and classified the errors and irregularities in the anonymous texts in order to determine whether there were distinctive patterns of irregular use and unnaturalness in the English produced by different language groups. The general classification scheme she used was common to the translation program; specific guidelines to unambiguously categorize even borderline cases such as prepositions and punctuation use were agreed upon by all members of the English department[2]. The scheme classifies errors as orthographic (Ort: spelling and punctuation), grammatical (Gr), lexical (Lex), style (St), and lack of cohesion, coherence, or clarity (a-c-b), taking into account differences between US and UK usage. Subsequently, the expert judge performed a qualitative analysis of the individual errors to gain insight into what was typical of native English speaker productions and what features were definitely unnatural.

Separately, the MS Word® automatic grammar and spelling checkers were applied to the texts to ascertain the number and type of objectively defined irregularities, which were classified using the same scheme of Ort, Gr, Lex, St, and a-c-b errors. The checkers were set for formal writing style (see Appendix A for the Microsoft explanations and examples of its grammar and writing style options) and to the appropriate variant (US or UK English) for each text.

Final-semester native speakers of German from the ZHW translation program who were participating voluntarily in a research seminar acted as NNS judges. Working in pairs, they evaluated each text and reached agreement on their identification and classification of errors using the same Ort, Gr, Lex, St, and a-c-b categories. They were given no feedback or guidance on this except for the explanatory handout on the error scheme provided to all first-year students, nor were they informed as to the native language of the writers. They were all, however, very familiar with the marking scheme, since their own compositions had been annotated this way by English teachers for several semesters. The NNS judges all had English as their B language and had successfully completed at least one semester at a university in an English-speaking country.

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2 This scheme may not correspond entirely to the error classifications adopted by other teachers and/or institutions, but it was applied consistently by all judges in this study.

Results

A number of analyses were carried out on the texts to ensure that they were comparable. They had been randomly chosen to reflect a range of grades, and indeed an analysis of variance (anova) showed no significant difference between the average grades of the three language groups. On a scale of 1-6, with 6 the highest possible grade, the average for the German speakers was 4.6, for the Italian speakers 4.5, and for the English speakers 4.4. There were also no significant differences among the language groups' texts in average number of sentences per paragraph, average number of words per sentence, average number of characters per word, or the Flesch reading ease as measured by the readability statistics provided by the MS Word® software.

The actual number of errors in each category for each text was converted into a standardized measure of error by dividing by the number of words in each text and multiplying by 100. All of the statistical analyses reported in the following were carried out on this measure of errors per 100 words. The standardized number of errors identified by the three types of judges (NNS, Expert, Word®) is presented for each of the German, Italian, and English groups of writers in Table 1. A two-factor anova with replication showed that the judges' error counts differed significantly ($p<.01$) and paired sample t-tests showed that the Expert and NNS judges identified significantly more errors overall (6.4 and 5.4, respectively) than MS Word® (3.1, $p<.01$). As well, the total number of errors differed significantly depending on the native language of the writer ($p<.05$), with t-tests indicating significantly more errors overall in the writing of native speakers of Italian (6.0) and German (5.4) than English native speakers (3.5, $p<.05$).

Table 1. Average standardized error counts by language group and judge

Judge	German	English	Italian	Overall
Non-native	5.3	4.1	6.8	**5.4**
Expert	8.2	3.1	7.8	**6.4**
MS Word®	2.8	3.1	3.5	**3.1****
Overall	**5.4**	**3.5***	**6.0**	* p<.05 **p<.01

Individual anovas were carried out on each language to examine the distribution of error types more closely. Because there were no errors identified by MS Word® that could be categorized as a-c-b, the Word® analysis is discussed separately below. In an anova on the texts produced by

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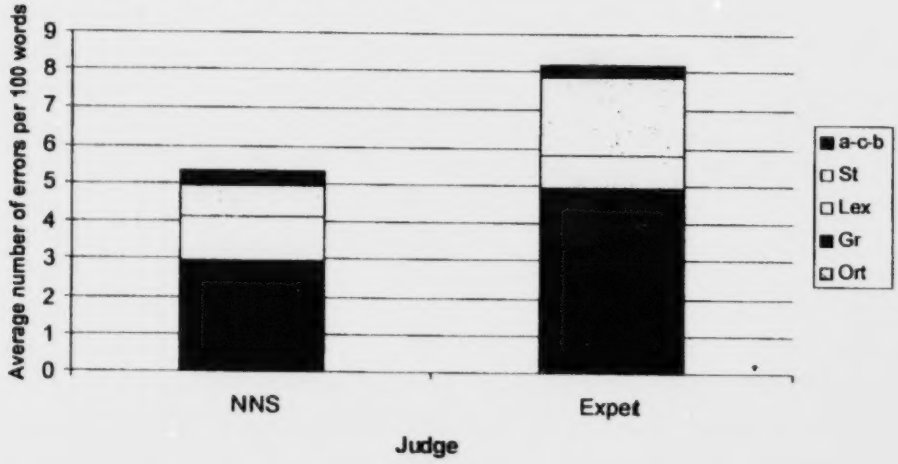
the German group (see Figure 1), it was clear that the Expert on average identified more errors of each type than the NNS judges (1.6 and 1.1, respectively; $p<.05$) and type of error was also significant ($p<.01$). There were significantly more Ort errors than St and Lex, both of which were higher than a-c-b errors; Gr errors were significantly more frequent than Lex or a-c-b (paired sample t-tests, $p<.05$). The anovas on the English and Italian groups' texts showed no significant differences between the NNS and Expert judges' rate of identification or among the error categories.

Figure 1. Errors produced by native speakers of German

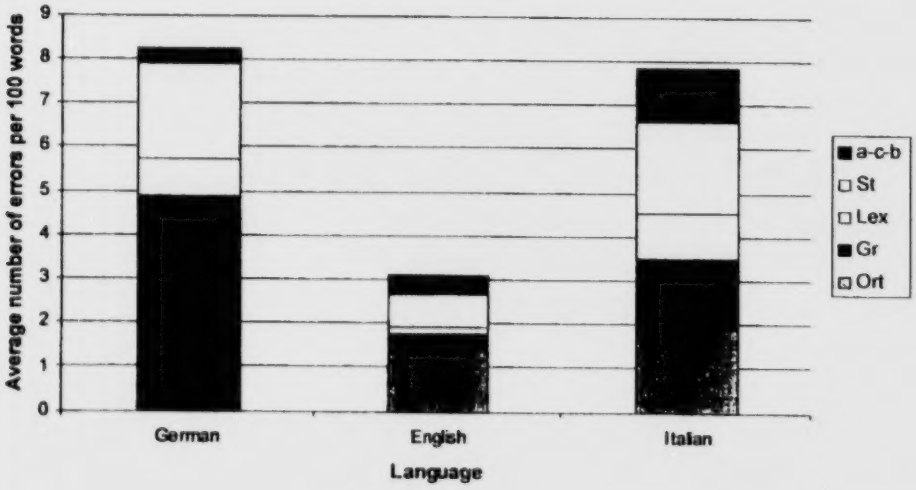


The dramatically lower overall number of errors identified by MS Word® compared to the Expert and NNS judges prompted a closer examination of the four error types it flagged. A single-factor anova on the English group's texts showed no significant effect for type of error, although there were significant differences in the German and Italian groups' texts ($p<.05$). For the texts produced by German native speakers, Word® identified significantly more Ort (1.1), Lex (0.7), and St (0.9) errors than Gr errors (0.1; paired sample t-tests, $p<.05$). For the texts produced by Italian native speakers, there were significantly fewer Gr (0.5) and Lex (0.5) errors than Ort (1.5) and St errors (1.0; $p<.05$).

Single-factor anovas on the number of errors that the NNS judges identified in each of the categories revealed no significant differences in any of the languages. By contrast, the Expert judge had a very different pattern for the three languages (see Figure 2). In the texts produced by native speakers of German, the type of error was significant ($p<.05$), with the Expert identifying significantly more Gr than Lex errors and more Ort, Gr, and St errors than

a-c-b errors (all paired sample t-tests, $p<.05$). In the English group's texts, the effect of error type was also significant ($p<.01$); the Expert identified significantly fewer Lex errors than any other of the four categories, and more Ort errors than Gr or a-c-b errors (all paired sample t-tests, $p<.05$). The distribution of errors noted by the Expert for the texts produced by the Italian group was much more even, with no significant main effect.

Figure 2. Expert-identified errors by language group



Discussion

Irregularities and errors were detected by the judges in all of the language groups' texts. If the English speakers' texts here are treated as a baseline, then 3 or 4 errors per 100 words can be considered native-like for this type of text. Nevertheless, both the Expert and NNS judges detected a difference between the native and non-native texts. Despite being very advanced users of English, the German and Italian writers produced texts containing significantly more identifiable errors than the native speakers. Only the Word® automatic grammar/spell checker failed to discriminate among the language groups.

The human judges did differ in the pattern of errors they identified in the various languages. The NNS judges clearly recognised fewer errors in the German speaker productions than the Expert did, particularly in the Gr and St categories. In the case of the Gr errors, this may well be because, as native German speakers, they tend to commit the same kinds of mistakes themselves. One apparent implication of this would be to recommend that,

when there are no native English speakers available, students (or anyone else, for that matter) should ask speakers of a language other than their own to edit their work. In fact, the NNS judges' error recognition and identification skills with the German texts proved questionable overall compared to the Expert's judgments. In the grammar category, for example, they missed a large number of the errors involving verb forms, non-finite clauses, determiners and adverbials, falsely identified seven but mislabelled only two. The category of style also proved to be tricky: the NNS judges missed 13, falsely identified three and mislabelled three. And in the lexical category, they missed ten, falsely identified twelve but mislabelled none.

In the Italian speaker productions, the errors identified by the NNS judges largely corresponded to those identified by the Expert judge in quantitative terms. However, the NNS judges differed from the Expert regarding the spread of errors across the five categories, claiming considerably more lexical errors and fewer style errors. Far greater discrepancies emerged when a detailed study of the specific errors they identified was carried out. In the lexical category, for example, they mislabelled ten errors as a-c-b or Gr, falsely identified twelve and missed twelve. In the style category, they mislabelled only three, but falsely identified seven and missed 20. In the Gr category, they mislabelled seven, falsely identified 13 and missed 14. Overall, their effectiveness as judges appears to be questionable. As a comparison, it would be interesting to see how well Italian native speakers identify errors in texts written by German and Italian native speakers.

As Table 1 indicates, it was only in their assessment of the English speakers' productions that the NNS judges identified a higher number of errors than the Expert, specifically in the categories Gr, Lex and St. Although the interaction was not significant, we found this discrepancy intriguing and worth investigating, since it might well provide an insight into the lack of naturalness in non-native speaker writing. Within the Gr category, the NNS judges tended to adopt a slightly simplistic, rule-bound approach which failed to take into account unusual and/or idiomatic but nevertheless acceptable sentence structures. For example, they inserted *that* at the start of a noun clause; identified as errors such things as the use of a plural pronoun *they* to refer to *the government*; and insisted on changing *as well* to *also* to conform to the *not only....but also* structure they were familiar with. There was also evidence of German interference in the NNS judges' identification of grammatical errors; for example, they added incorrect determiners in two places and the pronoun *it* to produce *as it is illustrated in the cartoon*. Within the Lex and St categories,

they again showed a tendency to reject idiomatic usage; for example, they changed *went to show* to *showed*, *was under the impression* to *had the impression*, *somebody inside the EC* to *a member of the EC*. They also failed to recognise accepted collocations such as *form* in *...democracy, or some form of it* and *great* in *....the differences remain too great to be bridged*. Finally, and this again points to an inappropriate (and sometimes erroneous) insistence on prescriptive rules, they questioned the lack of parallelism in the verb forms (underlined here) in *Battalions of old ladies, marching through parks, engaged in a crusade to save the pigeons*.

The frequent mislabelling of errors by the NNS judges in their assessment of all the productions raises some important questions. How effective is the marking system we have developed in our program? Do we actually help our students by annotating their work in this way if, for example, they are unable to distinguish between a stylistic lapse and a grammatical blunder? How can we focus students' attention on their own areas of weakness? In order to render the system more effective, we probably need to devote more time to error recognition and identification practice, not merely to correction, something also suggested by Muncie (2002). At the same time, we should allow our students greater access to native speaker productions in order to raise their awareness of unusual but acceptable subjective written style and to allow them to develop more sensitivity to natural language usage.

Although MS Word® seemed quite reasonable for texts produced by English native speakers, since it identified the same number of errors as the Expert and NNS judges did, it was very poor at flagging errors for the German and Italian groups, especially the German speakers' grammatical errors. Even for the English speakers, the pattern of errors did not match the Expert's. Word® was much stricter about certain elements of style, unilaterally rejecting the use of the passive. Despite the layman's notion that text editing aids might be useful for EFL purposes, our results support James' (1998) suggestion that much more error analysis of non-native productions of English is required and must be incorporated into these tools before we can recommend that our non-native speaker students rely on them. At present, they may actually provide no more than a false sense of security.

The pattern of errors identified by the Expert for the German texts differed from the other groups. There were more Gr errors than Lex and fewer a-c-b than any other type except Lex. For the Italian productions, the distribution was quite even across the error types, whereas the English writers produced

more Ort errors than most other types and very few Lex errors. In order to ascertain whether these errors were qualitatively similar in type across the three language groups, the categories Gr, Lex, Ort, St, and a-c-b were broken down into sub-categories. This revealed some interesting trends, particularly among the German and Italian writers.

Within the Gr category, four main sub-categories of error were identified, namely the use – or misuse – of determiners (German speakers 20%, Italian speakers 20%), prepositions (German speakers 16%, Italian speakers 24%) verb forms (German speakers 23%, Italian speakers 21%) and a rather wide-ranging sub-category we have chosen to call sentence structure (German speakers 40%, Italian speakers 34%). A further breakdown of the last two sub-categories was performed to discover whether any specific problem areas could be identified. Of the errors concerning verb forms, 64% made by the German speakers and 83% made by the Italian speakers involved the misuse of aspect rather than tense (e.g. *He is looking as if he were about to fall.... She clings to her husband's ankle....*). Within the umbrella term of sentence structure, three main error types could be identified in the German speakers' productions: the use and/or position of adverbials (33%, e.g. *Some are watching in pop-eyed consternation his performance*), the use of non-finite clauses (28%, e.g. *Mad cow disease is the new British weapon to restore its power in Europe*), and the use of transitive/intransitive verbs (17%, e.g. *a poor cow hurls through the air*). The pattern of sentence structure errors in the Italian speakers' productions proved to be less homogeneous, but problems with non-finite clauses (30%) and the use and position of adverbials (20%) accounted for half of the errors committed in this sub-category.

Most EFL teachers will find nothing surprising in the frequency of mistakes involving determiners and prepositions, but the breakdown of errors in the last two sub-categories suggests that greater emphasis should, perhaps, be placed on these specific areas of grammar. Clearly, our students need to become more aware of the use and effect of aspect in verb forms and not to focus merely on tense. McCarthy & Carter (1994, 93-102) discuss precisely this issue of the meaning of aspect and provide some suggestions for teaching it contextually. More attention should also be paid to non-finite clauses (their use, the grammatical restrictions they impose and the semantic effect they may have), transitive versus non-transitive verbs, and adverbials.

Interestingly, the pattern of grammatical errors in the native speaker productions was very similar: determiners (16%), prepositions (33%), adverbials

(16%) and non-finite clauses (33%). These areas appear to be intrinsically difficult features of the English grammatical system. Lang (1994) reported that her English native speakers, studying at an institution similar to ours, also needed improvement in their mother tongue competence. In any case, the proportion of grammatical errors in our native speakers' productions was still notably smaller than in the non-native speaker productions.

A similar qualitative breakdown was performed on the lexical errors. Here, two main trends became apparent: errors involving collocation (in a broad sense) and errors involving first language (L1) and/or second language (L2) interference. In the German speaker productions, unnatural or impossible collocations accounted for 53% and L1/L2 interference for 33% of the lexical errors (although there was some overlap between these two sub-categories). Among the Italian speaker productions, the results were reversed, with 38% collocation errors and 72% L1/L2 interference errors (again with some overlap). It was interesting to note a number of occurrences of L2 (German) interference in the Italian speakers' productions (e.g. *ordently* instead of *orderly*, *pattern* instead of *example*), whereas only L1 interference occurred in the German speakers' productions, consistent with Bouvy's (2000) finding that German (and Dutch) significantly influenced lexical access in English. The native speaker texts revealed only one collocation error and 2 errors involving commonly confused words (e.g. *economic* versus *economical*). However, as with the grammatical errors, the proportion of lexical errors in the native speaker productions was very small, and it is therefore difficult to claim any trend. The infrequency of lexical and grammatical errors in the native speaker productions is itself of interest and may be a subject of further research.

In the case of our students, greater emphasis on collocations appears to be required for both groups of non-native speakers. This is, in any case, very much in line with current literature and teaching methodology (e.g. Lewis, 2000; Nesselhauf, 2003), and supported by the growing number of collocation-based dictionaries (e.g. BBI, 1997; LTP, 1997; NTC, 1995; 1997). The question of L1/L2 interference also needs to be addressed, particularly with those Italian speakers who are inclined to access their English through German.

A breakdown of the error category of orthography also revealed some trends. Not surprisingly, the most frequent orthographic error involved the misuse of commas, especially the failure to use one to mark off an adverbial (e.g. after *himself* in *Nearly stumbling himself Bill Clinton is holding up the American*

flag... or on either side of *however* in *It is however rather unfair to judge people on their weak points...*). These errors accounted for 45% and 69% of the comma errors committed by the German speakers and Italian speakers respectively. In the native English speakers' productions, however, the corresponding figure was only 11%. In the case of the first example, the comma serves the useful purpose of marking the beginning of the main clause and directing attention to the main clause subject. This appears to reflect the preference of the English language for an S-P-O/C/A sentence structure (subject – predicator – object or complement and/or adverbial) and the need to mark off (with punctuation in texts or pausing in speech) clausal elements which do not conform to this structure. It would be beneficial to raise students' awareness of this pattern in general, as well as in conjunction with the use of commas.

The misuse of commas with relative clauses, although common to the three language groups, was less frequent (German speakers 10%, Italian speakers 15%, English speakers 5%). The use of an inappropriate comma (e.g. between subject and predicator or before a noun clause) also occurred in the productions of all three language groups but, again, less frequently (German speakers 15%, Italian speakers 8%, English speakers 9%). The rest of the English group's comma errors involved a failure to mark the second main clause of a compound sentence or inconsistency in marking the second last item of a list. The relatively high incidence of orthographic errors in all language groups' texts can probably be attributed to the somewhat vague nature of comma rules and to their sometimes quite arbitrary application in English publications. Our insistence on correctness in this area may appear pedantic; however, in their professional lives, our graduates may be required to produce and/or edit English texts to a very high level of accuracy, and, rightly or wrongly, their work may well be subjected to greater scrutiny than that of the average native speaker!

The a-c-b category of errors, which corresponds to the category that James (1998) calls discourse errors, is more difficult to define and tends to be more open to subjective judgment than the previous three (Gr, Lex and Ort). Nevertheless, certain trends were evident here, too. The most frequent problem was inappropriate or lack of cohesion or coherence (German 33%, Italian 59%, English 29%). This resulted primarily from the misuse of sentential (linking and attitude) adverbials (71% overall). Examples include *...he (John Major) was determined to block EU agreements. In this sense, he started catapulting British cows...* and *...English soccer fans, a fitting euphemism for*

'hooligans', indeed! The remaining errors related to the erratic use of pronouns and determiners, and to changes in point of view (e.g. *Switzerland has opted for the 'wait-and-see' strategy: if it works for the other countries, then we shall join it, too.*). Although the Italian speakers seemed to have the most difficulty with cohesion and coherence, it seems that all language groups need to acquire more expertise and sensitivity in these areas. The second most frequent a-c-b error resulted from the use of ambiguous or contextually inappropriate lexis or idiomatic expressions (German 66%, Italian 18%, English 43%). Examples include the following: the idiom *play into the hands of* to mean *appeal to* (German speaker), the word *behaviour* to refer to the war in Kosovo (Italian speaker), and *all the talks* instead of *all the talk* to mean *all one hears* (English speaker). The relatively high incidence rate of this error in the English productions is interesting: it might be due, on the one hand, to a somewhat casual attitude ("you know what I mean anyway so it doesn't matter much which word I use"), or, on the other, to an over-ambitious approach in which the writer's determination to use a clever expression or lexical item takes precedence over the need to convey the message clearly!

Like the a-c-b category, style is an area in which truly objective assessment is tricky; indeed, each error is open to discussion not only as to what kind of error it is (St, Lex or even a-c-b) but also as to whether it is an error at all. However, it is interesting to note that stylistic lapses accounted for almost exactly the same proportion of errors in each of the three language groups. The most frequent error type was register-inappropriate choice of lexis or idiomatic expression (German and Italian 29%, English 33%). Examples include *...(football hooligans) engaging in fisticuffs, ...big problems, ...it would be a piece of cake for the British to take control of Europe* (in an otherwise seriously-worded text), and the unnecessary use of gender-specific nouns and pronouns. Another error type which occurred fairly consistently in the non-native speaker productions was inappropriate balance or weighting in a sentence (e.g. *The cartoon shows a figure-skating contest in which Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, are starring*). This sometimes involved a violation of theme-rheme conventions (e.g. *The affinities between sports and politics have always been used by cartoonists. One of their common traits is competition...*; see McCarthy, 1991, for a good explanation of English theme-rheme). Finally, it was interesting to note that the Italian speakers tended to make unnecessary (and un-English) use of or reference to the 1st person singular in their texts (*I* appeared in the first sentence of three out of the five Italian speaker texts, and *in my opinion/view* occurred in a fourth), whereas all of the German and four

out of five of the English speakers maintained a 3rd person point of view throughout their productions. The one exception among the English speakers used the 1st person plural to reinforce his/her point, a convincing and natural tactic in argumentative passages.

Conclusion

A certain pattern of error types emerged from our analysis, and this picture allows us to direct our attention to specific problems which appear to affect all three language groups. Having identified these weaknesses, we are in a better position to help our students improve their written productions by devising tasks and exercises which focus on these problem areas and serve to heighten their awareness. One concrete case is the use of adverbials: it is interesting to note that this particular clause element gave rise to errors in four out of our five categories (namely, Gr, St, Ort, a-c-b), many of which led to unnaturalness. This would appear to be in line with Goldberg and Ackermann's (2001) claim that the use of obligatory adverbials follows from general pragmatic principles, not grammatical factors. If our students could acquire a deeper understanding of the use, meaning and appropriateness of adverbials in a text, they could certainly lower their error rate and achieve greater accuracy, clarity and naturalness in their writing.

Another more general area where there is a need for greater clarity and more practice is error recognition and correction. At the same time, however, we need to pay more attention to tasks designed to develop our students' feeling for natural and appropriate language. Here, greater exposure to well-written native-speaker productions would be beneficial; identifying and analysing the linguistic features that make these texts successful (e.g. cohesive devices, pleasing collocations and effective patterns of repetition) should help them to achieve greater fluency and naturalness in their own written work.

Although the object of study here is English produced to meet course requirements in a university program, the problems and possible solutions are by no means isolated to such situations. As described by Dingwall and Murray (1999; see also Murray et al., 2001), English is becoming increasingly important in Switzerland and Swiss professionals are expected to be able to produce high-quality English texts without the support of native speakers or professional copy-editors. Approaching English writing in terms of supra-sentential cohesion, organization, and lexical clarity in addition to sentence-

level grammar offers non-native speakers useful insights and tools which may enable them to optimise their own texts in applied settings.

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Appendix A: Microsoft Word® Grammar and Style (formal) explanations and examples

Comma required before last list item: (don't check)
Punctuation required with quotes: (don't check)
Spaces required between sentences: (don't check)

Grammar option	What it detects
Capitalization	Capitalization errors, such as proper nouns ("Mr. jones" should be "Mr. Jones") or titles that precede proper nouns ("aunt Helen" should be "Aunt Helen"). Also detects overuse of capitalization.
Commonly confused words	Incorrect usage of homophones or other commonly misused words, such as "it's"/"its" or "there"/"their"/"they're."
Hyphenated and compound words	Hyphenated words that should not be hyphenated, and vice versa. Also detects closed compounds that should be open, and vice versa.
Misused words	Incorrect usage of adjectives and adverbs, comparatives and superlatives, "like" as a conjunction, "nor" versus "or", "what" versus "which", "who" versus "whom", units of measure, conjunctions, prepositions, and pronouns.
Negation	Use of multiple negation.
Numbers	Numerals that should be spelled out (use nine instead of 9), and vice versa (use 12 instead of twelve). Also detects incorrect usage of "%" in place of "percentage".
Passive sentences	Sentences written in the passive voice. When possible, the suggestions are rewritten in the active voice.
Possessives and plurals	Use of a possessive in place of a plural, and vice versa. Also detects omitted apostrophes in possessives.
Punctuation	Incorrect punctuation, including commas, colons, end-of-sentence punctuation, punctuation in quotations, multiple spaces between words, or a semicolon used in place of a comma or colon.
Relative clauses	Incorrect use of relative pronouns and punctuation, including "who" used in place of "which" to refer to things, "which" used in place of "who" to refer to people, unnecessary use of "that" with "whatever" and "whichever", or "that's" used in place of "whose".
Sentence structure	Sentence fragments, run-on sentences, overuse of conjunctions (such as "and" or "or"), nonparallel sentence structure (such as shifts between active and passive voice in a sentence), incorrect sentence structure of questions, and misplaced modifiers.
Subject-verb agreement	Disagreement between the subject and its verb, subject-complement agreement, and subject-verb agreement with pronouns and quantifiers (for example, "All of the students has left" instead of "All of the students have left").

Verb and noun phrases	Incorrect noun and verb phrases; a/an misuse; incorrect verb tenses; transitive verbs used as intransitive verbs; number agreement errors in noun phrases ("five machine" instead of "five machines").

Style option	What it detects
Clichés	Words or phrases identified as clichés in the dictionary.
Colloquialisms	Sentences that contain colloquial words and phrases, including "real", "awfully", and "plenty" used as adverbs; two consecutive possessives; "get" used as a passive verb; "kind of" used in place of "somewhat"; "scared of" used in place of "afraid of"; and "how come" used in place of "why".
Contractions	Use of contractions that should be spelled out or that are considered too informal for a specific writing style—for example, "We won't leave 'til tomorrow" instead of "We will not leave until tomorrow".
Jargon	Use of technical, business, or industry jargon.
Sentence length	Sentences that include more than 60 words.
Sentences beginning with "And", "But", and "Hopefully"	Use of conjunctions and adverbs at the beginning of a sentence, or use of "plus" as a conjunction between two independent clauses.
Successive nouns (more than three)	Strings of several nouns that may be unclear, as in "The income tax office business practices remained the same".
Successive prepositional phrases (more than three)	Strings of prepositional phrases, as in "The book on the shelf in the corner at the library on the edge of town was checked out".
Unclear phrasing	Ambiguous phrasing, such as "more" followed by an adjective and a plural or mass noun ("We need more thorough employees", instead of "We need more employees who are thorough"), or sentences in which there is more than one possible referent for a pronoun ("All of the departments did not file a report" instead of "Not all of the departments filed a report").
Wordiness	Wordy relative clauses or vague modifiers (such as "fairly" or "pretty"), redundant adverbs, too many negatives, the unnecessary use of "or not" in the phrase "whether or not", or the use of "possible ... may" in place of "possible ... will".
Words in split infinitives (more than one)	Two or more words between "to" and an infinitive verb, as in "to very boldly enter the market".

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English in Switzerland – is it legal?

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Die meisten JuristInnen in der Schweiz verwenden in ihrem juristischen Alltag Englisch als Rechtssprache noch nicht häufig. Die rechtswissenschaftlichen Fakultäten bieten nur selten Kurse für Englisch als Rechtssprache an und führen kaum Lehrveranstaltungen in Englisch durch. Es gibt aber Hinweise dafür, dass die Bedeutung des Englischen für viele JuristInnen in der Schweiz wie in anderen Ländern zunimmt. In diesem Artikel untersuche ich diese Veränderung, indem ich die Fragenbogen aus mehreren Kursen "Englisch für JuristInnen" auswerte. Ich gehe der Frage nach, wieso das Englische viel langsamer in die Rechtswissenschaften eingedrungen ist als in andere Fachgebiete. Dann beleuchte ich die Faktoren, die bewirkt haben, dass neuerdings viele schweizerische JuristInnen Englisch für ihre Karriere als notwendig erachten. Weiter zeige ich einige Arbeitsgebiete auf, in denen schweizerische RechtswissenschaftlerInnen regelmässig Englisch verwenden. Schliesslich werden mögliche Entwicklungstendenzen besprochen.

1. Introduction

The spread of English in Switzerland has recently been the subject of much discussion, as the range of articles in this volume and the book edited by Watts & Murray (2001) indicates. Besides being a popular language in youth culture and business, English is increasingly affecting other walks of life in Switzerland (Franzen 2001). For example, in our investigations into the use of English at Swiss universities (Dingwall & Murray 1999, Murray & Dingwall 1997, 2000), we found that English has been widely used for reporting on research in the life sciences for at least twenty years. Swiss natural scientists have also been feeling the pressure to communicate their findings in English for some time, whereas in the humanities and social sciences English still plays a comparatively minor, albeit, increasingly important role (see also Murray 2001: 92). In particular, English has only very recently begun to penetrate the field of law as it is taught at Swiss universities and as it is practised in most Swiss law firms (with the exception of a few specialist areas). This pattern is typical in other non-English-speaking countries as well. For instance, in Sweden law courses are generally held in Swedish (Gunnarsson, 2000: 305), while in Switzerland they are usually taught in German or French (see 2.1).

In this paper I address first the question of how law students and lawyers in Switzerland are in practice being affected by the spread of English, and then consider some reasons why the field of law may be particularly resistant to its

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spread. Notwithstanding this almost requisite resistance, various recent developments, ranging from within Swiss law itself to the more global, mean that English will continue to make itself increasingly felt within Swiss legal circles. I try to spell out what some of these developments are, drawing on discussions with students and their written work. Finally, I undertake some crystal-ball-gazing and attempt to predict how Swiss lawyers will use English in future.

2. English use among Swiss lawyers

How have lawyers in Switzerland been affected by the spread of English? In 2.1 I discuss the presence of English in the law faculties of Swiss universities, with a special focus on Zurich University. 2.2 is devoted to an analysis of questionnaires and letters supplied by practising lawyers attending "English for law" courses I have taught in which they report on how, if at all, they use English at work. When quoting from their written comments, I have left them unedited as they give an indication of the writers' English skills.

2.1. English in Swiss law faculties

My experience as a teacher of "English for law" at the University of Zurich for over ten years indicates that English for Legal Purposes (ELP) used to be restricted to a small group working with foreign clients and/or in international law. Not surprisingly, then, none of the Swiss universities teaching law[1] apart from Zurich appears to offer an English course specifically for students of law (i.e. an ELP course) as an official part of their program[2]. Most Swiss universities offer these days a range of English for Special Purpose courses, but not ELP. However, the new Law Faculty at the University of Lucerne plans to offer an optional "English for law" course and Zurich University has had an optional ELP course for just one semester per year for many years.

English is very rarely used as the medium of instruction in undergraduate courses in law in Switzerland. Generally the lectures and seminars organised

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1 There are law faculties at the Universities of Basle, Bern, Fribourg, Geneva, Lausanne, Neuchâtel, St.Gall, and Zurich. Lucerne used to be purely a theological college, but set up two new faculties (Law and Social Science) in autumn 2001.

2 Data taken from the timetables for the undergraduate courses and optional courses in law (winter semester 02/03) listed in http://www.webtechnology.ch/f/studentsinn/stundenplaene.asp and from telephone calls with university law faculties. At St.Gallen "English for Law, Management Studies and Economics" is one course offered, but it is not purely ELP.

by the law faculties are in German or French, with the occasional guest lecture or block seminar on an international topic held in English (e.g. the only course held in English during the winter semester 2002 at Zurich University was on Japanese law given by a visiting professor). Some law faculties actively encourage their students to do part of their studies (usually one so-called Mobilitätssemester) in universities in another language area in Switzerland. For example, the Law Faculty at the University of Geneva stresses the importance of German in law-making in Switzerland[3] and the University of Lausanne offers a "German for law" course and two courses taught in German. At Zurich University, two courses in "Italian for law" are taught, but there are no courses in "French for law" or lectures in French. Traditionally, the other Swiss languages have been more important in most Swiss lawyers' daily work than international languages like English as most of the cases they handle are quite local, and less often national or international[4]. But many students today are highly mobile, and increasingly exchanges with other universities in Europe are being encouraged through, e.g. the ERASMUS program. The Law Faculty in Zurich is part of the programme "Law with Languages" run by universities in different European countries (e.g. one university in the UK and three in Greece). On the basis of the courses given and on the information provided to students, it would seem, then, that the Law Faculty in Zurich is more oriented to Europe than to the French part of Switzerland, whereas at the University of Geneva law students are encouraged to spend a semester studying law at a German-speaking university in the country.

When we turn to postgraduate courses in law in Switzerland, the place of English in teaching appears to be quite different. Several universities run Masters programs where English features prominently in the course description. At the University of Zurich, the two-year part-time course in "International Business Law" leading to an LL.M. was launched in 1996. It is

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3 "...l'allemand n'est pas seulement la langue la plus parlée en Suisse, elle est aussi la langue dans laquelle paraissent la majorité des décisions du Tribunal fédéral ou dans laquelle sont publiés la plupart des ouvrages de doctrine. L'allemand est ainsi pour le juriste suisse un outil indispensable dès qu'il est confronté à une recherche nécessitant plus que la simple relecture d'un polycopié." (webpage: http://www.unige.ch/droit/mobilite/).

4 As one lawyer (HB) put it: "As a Swiss lawyer, I had not very many cases so far in which I could use my knowledges in English. Most of my clients are from Switzerland, Austria or Germany. Most of them speak German. Some of them, from the western part of Switzerland, have French as their mother tongue. At the moment I use the English language only to communicate with a Czech colleague".

taught in English and German, and opens with a preliminary 30-hour "English for lawyers" course. On the other hand, there is no such preparatory course for the "Master in International Law and Economics (M.I.L.E.)" run by the World Trade Institute, a joint centre of the universities of Bern, Neuchâtel and Geneva. Course participants are expected to have mastered a sufficiently high level of English to be able to participate actively in the program and the application form for the course correspondingly requests detailed information about the applicant's background in English (TOEFL score or equivalent, etc.). Similarly, participants in the "Executive Master of European and International Business Law" program in St. Gallen receive no special instruction in "English for law". Rather they are expected to build up an appropriate specialized English vocabulary through reading the English texts recommended in the course. The motivation to do this is, presumably, high, as part of the course takes place in the United States and other parts in different locations in Europe.

Such postgraduate programs in law are a recent development in Switzerland and most of these courses date back to the mid nineties or later. In contrast, writing a dissertation to obtain a doctorate in law can look back on a much longer tradition. A search through lists of dissertations accepted at the law faculties in Swiss universities indicates that prospective Swiss doctors of law very seldom write up their research in English. At the University of Zurich, the regulations permit dissertations in English (and also French and Italian), but since 1996 only five (out of 428 = 1%) have been submitted with English titles, of which at least one was by a native speaker[5]. Thus it appears to be still standard practice in Zurich to write dissertations in German. This is in striking contrast with the policy in some other fields, such as economics, where writing up a dissertation in English is the norm, if not the requirement (Murray & Dingwall 2001: 97). The tendency for doctoral dissertations in the field of law to be written in the local language is evident in some other European countries as well. For example, while Haarmann and Holman (2001: 246) report that 14% of dissertations on law were written in English in Finland between 1990-1997, Gunnarsson (2001: 299) found none written in English in Sweden. In summary, then, undergraduate and doctoral students of law at Swiss universities have little call to use English for their studies, whereas most of the

5 I am grateful to R. Bollinger from the Faculty of Law at Zurich University for searching out this information for me.

modern masters programs (or at least those with an international orientation) expect participants to have a very good command of English.

2.2. Reported use of English by Swiss lawyers: data from questionnaires and letters

Since 1996 it has been possible to do a two-year part-time postgraduate masters degree in International Business Law (LL.M.) at the University of Zurich, in which up to a third of the lectures are held in English. At the beginning of the course, which takes place every two years, students attend an intensive 30-hour course in English for Law, of which I teach part. To date, over 200 students have attended this course. In addition, it proved popular enough for the Europa Institute at the University of Zurich (Competence Centre for European Law) to start offering similar English courses for practising lawyers in 2000. Over 100 lawyers have since completed the course. This development suggests that a number of lawyers in Switzerland now feel the need to improve their English for professional reasons.

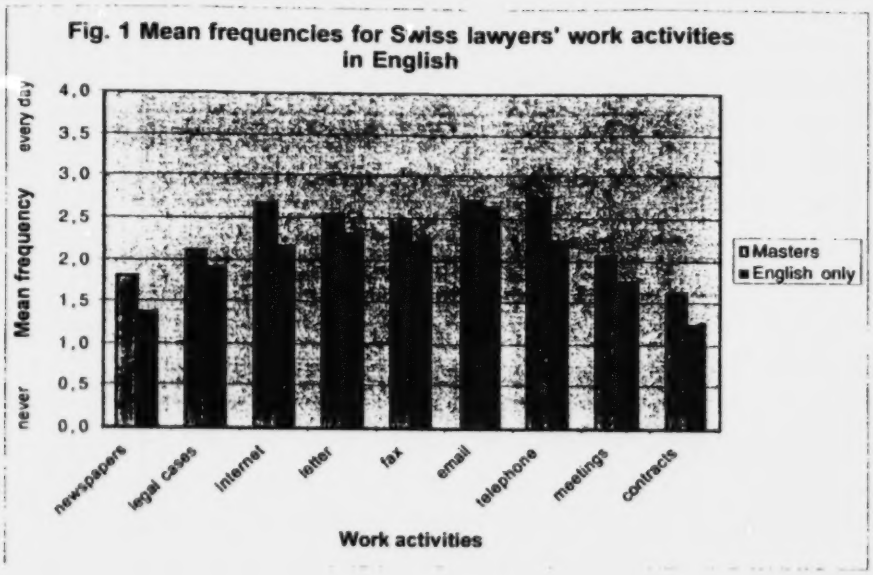
When they enrol for these courses, participants have to complete a questionnaire about their background in English. They have to specify whether and how often they use English at work for, e.g., telephoning, meetings, correspondence, Internet, or drafting contracts. They are also asked to say which areas of English they would like to focus on in the course (reading, legal vocabulary, writing letters, etc.). As well as returning the questionnaire, applicants write a brief letter explaining how they currently use English at work, if at all, and whether they envisage this changing in the future. The products of this enrolment procedure provide both quantitative and qualitative data on how English is being used by a large, but admittedly rather special, group of Swiss lawyers. They cannot, of course, be said to be representative of all lawyers in Switzerland since they are a self-selected group mainly from the German-speaking part of Switzerland, who are either already interested in learning ELP or in working in a more international context, or both.

In 2002 we ran an English course for lawyers in the spring where 37 completed questionnaires (the "English only" group). The autumn marked the beginning of the LL.M. course, and 52 questionnaires (the "masters" group) were obtained from participating lawyers from Switzerland or Liechtenstein (participants from other countries were excluded). Most of the participants also wrote letters explaining how (if at all) they used English at present and how they envisaged using it in the future. When quoting from these letters,

participants are identified with code letters only to ensure they remain anonymous and care is taken to avoid mention of specific companies or positions.

The two groups were counted separately as their motivations for doing the course were different. The "English only" group were practising lawyers who had enrolled to attend a short English for law course, whereas the "masters" group were attending the English course as part of their part-time masters programme. In other ways the groups were rather similar. Women made up roughly 40% of each and, without having recorded ages, my impression was the age range was also comparable in each, with an average age of roughly 28. In both groups over half work as lawyers in a bank, an insurance company or a large multinational company; around 30% work in small to large law firms, some on a self-employed basis; and fewer than 20% work for the government in some capacity like a cantonal court or a federal office. Over 85% in both groups reported that they used English for work, with a slightly higher proportion in the "masters" group (88%). This contrasts markedly with the situation in 1996, where fewer than 50% of the "masters" students reported using English regularly at work[6]. What has led to this change? If we look at how often the two groups use English for particular activities, we can begin to answer this question. Other factors that have led to English becoming more important in Swiss law are discussed in section 4.

6 It is not possible to compare the replies to the 1996 and 2002 questionnaires directly as the questions were phrased rather differently.



2.2.1. Work activities in English

Fig. 1 shows how frequently those who require English at work report using it for different activities (mean values are given on a scale where 0 = "never", 1= "seldom" (a category added by some), 2 = "sometimes", 3 = "often" and 4 = "used every day")[7]. These clearly provide only rough indications of the extent to which English is used for different activities as people's perceptions of frequency differ. Moreover, different categories of activity type could have been chosen. But when these figures are analysed in conjunction with the open-ended letters that course participants sent me before the course started, then they do give a picture of English use among two different groups of lawyers. The "masters" group use, on average, English more frequently for all

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7 This data was obtained from r plies to question 5 on the pre-course questionnaire:
Do you use English for your work: YES / NO
If yes, which of the following do you use English for and how often
(please note down **never, sometimes, often, every day** as appropriate):
Frequency
Reading newspapers
Reading legal articles, cases, etc.
Reading on the Internet
Correspondence - letter - fax - e-mail
Telephoning
Meetings with clients / colleagues
Drafting contracts
Other

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activity types than the "English only" lawyers, which may partly reflect where they stand in their careers and the "masters" group's commitment (in terms of time and money invested in the postgraduate course) to international law.

One obvious change over the past six years is the increase in the use of email. Fewer than 20% of course participants claimed they used email and the Internet regularly in 1996, whereas all those who attended the courses in 2002 had email addresses. On average, both groups in 2002 communicate quite often in English via email (mean frequency = approx. 2.7, i.e. between "sometimes" and "often"), with some, particularly those working in companies where the company language is English, handling English emails daily. For example, SL, who works for a multinational holding company, wrote:

> Reading in English on the Internet, reading and replying to English-language E-mail is a daily fact in our firm. We also subscribe to a number of journals and newsletters in English that are required reading.

Speaking English on the telephone is also a frequent activity, particularly among the "masters" students, whose overall level of English was higher than the "English only" group. The "masters" students also report using the Internet more than the second group, but most consult it regularly (mean frequency = 2.4). One factor that may have contributed to the increase in Swiss lawyers' use of English at work is the much more widespread use of computers in offices today. Computers in the workplace have led many professionals to take on some of the text work themselves that they might previously have passed on to secretarial staff. Moreover many lawyers today may carry out part of their correspondence via email, where tolerance of error is fairly high. But even when they draft traditional letters, computers can also provide extra assistance (in particular, spelling and style checkers and on-line dictionaries). One lawyer (MM) wrote:

> When I have to use English, I write my letters with a dictionary and correct the grammar and spelling with the computer.

Several respondents volunteered the information that they use templates for some of their correspondence or relied on existing contracts in drafting new ones, e.g. MB1, working for a Swiss-based multinational:

> All meetings are held in English and practically all agreements drafted in English. The latter is only possible due to the existence of numerous standard agreement templates which can be adapted to special needs.

A couple of older participants also told me that they rely less on traditional translating facilities today than they used to and are expected to be able to conduct more legal correspondence in English (the mean for letter-writing in

2002 was around 2.5, i.e. most write letters quite often). Fewer respondents claim to be regularly handling contracts in English (mean frequency = 1.4), where accurate language usage is essential. Those that marked this box sometimes qualified it by specifying that they had to read and check contracts, but not draft them from scratch. One task that some informants often have to perform with clients is explaining and giving informal translations of important documents, such as contracts, written in German.

2.2.2. Reluctance to use spoken English

Some lawyers reported that they only used English in writing but not in speaking. One (PD) noted that:

> This is something I would like to change in the future, because English is the very first business language in international relations. If you are interested in economic law – like I am – you can't practice it without knowledge of English.

While another (MK) confessed:

> I tend to avoid direct oral confrontation (sic) with clients and prefer to delegate this duty to someone else. This is because I do not feel confident enough when forced to speak without preparation. As soon as my speaking ability improves, I plan to take an active role in negotiating and finalizing contracts with clients.

Lack of confidence in speaking English is particularly inhibiting in ELP where a good choice of words may be so important, and, as discussed in 3.2, there are so many words to choose from. MW notes that:

> One of the difficulties regarding the communication in English is that clients are expecting the same level of English language skill which they have[8]. Further, the English language allows one to express himself in a very detailed manner, which requires that one knows for certain the particular vocabulary of the various topics of law. Since I do not have reached yet such a level, this work is very time consuming.

Another lawyer (RST) stressed that:

> The use of a language is very important in law. Sometimes the meaning of a whole sentence can change by using another word. It is important to choose the right terms to explain your point of view properly.

Or, as SN put it:

> There is a significant need to know the appropriate vocabulary and to use the relating legal terms in order to communicate effectively with the counterpart.

This pressure to communicate effectively meant that NK found:

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8 This comment surprises me as anecdotal evidence suggests that native speakers of English are usually fairly tolerant of non-natives' errors.

> In a conversation I often neglect the content of what I want to say because I have to concentrate so much on how I am going to express it.

Another lawyer (CR) said he avoided using both written and spoken English as much as possible:

> It's a pity but at the moment I really try to avoid to use English at work as good as I can. There are two reasons: On the one hand, I have almost two times as long to write a legal opinion in English than in German; on the other I feel very insecure in legal conversations.

Active use of legal English is demanding, as more than one respondent noted. For example, AB, who works for an insurance company and uses English frequently at work to give legal advice to her colleagues, write letters to clients, and so on, complained:

> Whereas I understand most English legal terms and have no difficulty in following conversations, I find it difficult to find the exact, appropriate legal terms in English.

2.2.3. How frequently English is used depends on the type of work and whether English acts as a lingua franca

As expected, most lawyers working in Swiss courts said they needed little English as they dealt mainly with local cases. However, some government offices have become involved in negotiating or implementing international agreements, even though their main work may be within Switzerland. This move usually means employees find it difficult to avoid using English (this point is taken up again in section 4). One person working in tax law said he needed English more now than seven years ago because he was involved in negotiating agreements with the OECD, the EU and the USA. Another said that she (MBI) was in regular contact with colleagues from EEA and EFTA states, so that:

> English is absolutely inevitable for me at work. I use it every day. ... In fact, nearly all information we receive from abroad is in English. Finally, one should not forget to mention the Internet which is also a very important source of information for me. And there, too, lots of documents are in English, even though there is a German ... version, it is sometimes better to read the English version or to read both versions in parallel. From my point of view, this is especially indicated with EC directives and regulations.

Her last comment illustrates how working in a multilingual environment may have some benefits. Being able to consult two or more versions of the same law in different languages could be useful in interpreting important documents. Here a bilingual lawyer has an advantage over a monolingual colleague.

One lawyer (SW) described her work with the cantonal social services. She said that most of her clients (in Spring 2002) were German-, French- or Italian-speaking, but that this was likely to change when the bilateral agreement on

freedom of movement of persons between Switzerland and EU countries came into force in June 2002.

> The right to freedom of movement includes the coordination of security. Our institution will have direct contact with the social securities of the EU. So my work will become much more international. In the future English will be essential.

Working in an international company does not necessarily mean everyday business is carried out in English. RS works for the Swiss section of a multinational, which officially has English as its company language, but he hardly ever uses English at work:

> I'm working as a legal counsel in a Swiss group. Nearly 30 companies belong to the group, but all are Swiss. Our national languages are our group languages: so German, French and Italian, but no English. That's why I can hardly use my English during the daily business. But because our Swiss group is part of a worldwide operating group, all the official informations and guidelines from the group mother are published in English. Also the official homepage and the Intranet from our worldwide operating group is written in English.

Similarly ES explains:

> I'm working as a legal counsel in a Swiss domiciled, globally operating bank. The part of our company that is mainly providing investment services has its headquarters in New York. Bearing in mind all the before mentioned facts would lead to the conclusion that I use English in my daily work. Well this is not reality. I use English from time to time in order to write e-mails to some of my colleagues in England or the United States, or I use it orally in order to attend a conference call, or an ordinary telephone call. From time to time I get the opportunity to draft a contract in English, respectively to read and amend it so it is compatible and in line with Swiss laws and regulations. But all the before mentioned opportunities of usage of the English Language happen to be rather seldom. I would say around [once] every three weeks in the average.

Her experience contrasts somewhat with that of SN's, employed by an insurance company, who writes:

> Our group's head office is in Zurich. Here in the legal department our working languages are both German and English, while in team meetings we usually speak German. Most of the incoming correspondence is written in English, especially emails and fax messages. We often deal with business people from abroad that all use English as common business language. No telephone conference without at least one participant with another mother tongue than German! In that case the whole conversation has to be in English.

In a similar vein, JT, working for an American insurance company, uses English for a whole range of activities:

> Minutes, email, contracts with affiliated companies, answering customer complaints or a simple chat on the phone. English is always present and part of our job.

MB, working for a pharmaceutical company, explains that:

> I have to talk and write English every day. This is very challenging especially in meetings with English spoken people. Fortunately I had only a few of such meetings until now. Further I have to read a lot of English contracts and e-mails, letter and memos, and at the beginning I struggled more with the language than with the legal work. But slowly I make some progress and ... it does not take me 15 minutes to write a one-sentence e-mail anymore.

LP, employed by a US-based computer firm, confesses that English is used as the common language among German- and French-speaking colleagues. It is also the lingua franca with non-German-speaking clients:

> Big companies in Switzerland, which are our customers, employ people from abroad and again English is the basic language for contacts and communication. Although I use English on a daily basis, my counterparts mother tongue is usually not English.

SL notes a similar trend to use English as a lingua franca in the multinational holding company where he works:

> Within the firm we bridge insufficient proficiency in French by using English. Also we accept foreign students as interns. With them I use English as a working language in projects.

Another lawyer (EL), working for an international bank, makes it clear that how much English he uses regularly for his job has varied according to which department he is in, even though English is the corporate language of the bank. For example, a shipping department will focus on the international shipping business where English is the main operating language, whereas a department doing business mainly with small- and medium-sized Swiss companies will probably need English very seldom. One person also pointed out that how much English she needed varied according to the task at hand:

> The last three months I was involved in the public takeover offer of ... and therefore I practiced English almost every day. However, in my regular day-to-day job I do not use English but German.

2.2.4. Summary

In summary, then, this survey of 89 Swiss (and Liechtenstein-based) lawyers has shown that the majority (more than 85%) do use English regularly at work today, compared with a minority in a similar group six years ago[9]. Exactly which tasks English is used for tends to vary with the job and according to how proficient the individual lawyer feels he or she is in the language. Even within the same organisation a lawyer's need for English will vary depending on, among other things:

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9 Andreas Kellerhals (personal communication) believes I may be underestimating the extent to which practising Swiss lawyers use English. Clearly I can make no claim that the two groups investigated here are a representative sample of all Swiss lawyers, but their descriptions of their uses of English at work show that this varies tremendously even among those working for international companies. While some lawyers may use more English at work than a Swiss language (and would normally not attend an "English for law" course), others, particularly those working in small law firms, may not have to use English at all. Quantifying language use is never easy and in the case of English used for legal work will depend very much on where you look and who you talk to.

1. whether or not English is the corporate language of the firm;
2. whether or not the lawyer is working in an area like shipping or on tasks like negotiating international agreements where English is the main language of documentation and negotiation.
3. whether or not the lawyer is working with a mixed language group which finds that English is the easiest language for the whole group to work with.
4. whether or not email and the Internet play an important role in the work environment.

This last factor was hardly an issue in 1996 when only very few lawyers were regularly using emails and the Internet. The development of the electronic office is likely to have affected many aspects of the practising lawyer's working environment, including language use, but this topic will not be developed further in this paper. Rather, section 4 will explore changes within the field of law that appear to have led to the marked increase in demand for English among Swiss lawyers during the past few years. This pressure to use English began to be felt in the field of law much later than in many other fields. Section 3 focuses on two aspects of law that make it rather resistant to the spread of English. These relate to comments made by several lawyers cited above about some of the special problems that arise when working with legal language where a good choice of words may be crucial. Some clearly felt very insecure speaking English in a professional legal context, and preferred to restrict their use of English to writing, where they could take time to find the right expressions and get more help. Section 3 also tries to explain why ELP can be particularly demanding for learners.

3. Why has the field of law in Switzerland been so resistant to the spread of English?

3.1. Legal English: a special case of English for Special Purposes (ESP)?

Most lawyers are trained to work in a particular country with its own special legal system. A country's legal terminology develops hand in hand with its law, which in turn reflects the country's culture. For instance, there is a well-known difference between the legal systems based on Roman law that are widespread in Europe and the English common law system. The continental civil law systems rely as much as possible on codified laws mulled over and drawn up by legislators, whereas in the Anglo-American systems a greater

role is played by case law, i.e. judgements made on points of law as they became issues in particular cases in the past. If we focus on this difference, European civil law can be said to be pro-active and the English common law system re-active. Such differences reflect and reinforce not only differences in legal procedure and culture, but also intrinsically different legal concepts and legal language. Rossini et al. (2001) are exploring some ways in which features of the legal systems are indicated in language use by comparing word collocations of key terms like *duty* and its near equivalent in Italian, *tassa,* in large corpora of English and Italian legal texts. They claim that the different patterns of collocation for the words in the two languages reflect differences between the civil and common law systems. Thus learners have to find out not only what the best translations are, but also how they should be used in context. Of course, this applies to "ordinary" language use as well, but in law using the appropriate terms in the appropriate way is essential, and is one reason why bilingual legal dictionaries without good examples of how specific terms are used are generally not to be recommended.

Unlike the products of science and technology, laws are largely made through language, and can seldom be explained visually or mathematically. The words used to express laws are often crucial to their application and the resolution of a dispute may hinge on interpreting how a law is formulated and what the words in it mean. This interdependence of law and words means it is difficult to get to grips with legal terminology in a language without some understanding of the underlying legal system. It follows, therefore, that the learning load when trying to become competent in legal English (or some other language with a very different legal system) is greater than it is for other forms of ESP like scientific English.

An additional burden on the learner of legal English is the fact that there are considerable differences between American and English law, as well as between Scottish and other English-based legal systems. This adds not only to the complexity of legal English and the sheer quantity of terminology involved, but also to some potentially confusing differences in the meanings of expressions. Thus *enjoin*, according to Garner (1987: 215), normally means "prescribe" in a positive sense in British English and "prohibit" in American English. As if this was not complicated enough, the recent reform of civil law in England has led to many traditional legal terms, such as *plaintiff* or *writ* being replaced by so-called plain language equivalents (in this case *claimant* and *claim form*). While this reform may well make English law more accessible to

laypeople, such a proliferation of legal terms does not make the ELP learner's task easier.

3.2. Law in Switzerland: a linguistic challenge

The serious learner of "English for law" faces a challenging task (see above). In multilingual Switzerland the challenge may be even greater than in some other countries. All authoritative legal texts in Switzerland have to be formulated in each of the three official languages, which have equal legal value[10]. For those dealing with Swiss law at the federal level, e.g. the lawyers working for the Swiss Federal Railways, it is traditionally the three Swiss official languages, and not English, that are needed most in their everyday work. And it used to be French, too, that played the greater role in European and international law:

> In the nineteenth century, French was considered the language par excellence of international treaties and conventions. This was a function associated with its status as a preferred language in the world of diplomacy. For instance, the original language of the Berne Convention of 1886 on copyright is [...] French.
> (Haarmann & Holman, 2001: 246)

For Swiss lawyers who already work in two or more languages, a requirement to master legal English as well may understandably not be very welcome. So why are so many Swiss lawyers learning ELP today?

4. Why English is being used increasingly by Swiss lawyers

Several of the lawyers who wrote letters describing how they used English at work claimed to have noticed a marked increase in the amount of English they were expected to use over the past five to seven years. For example, LB, working for a law firm, said that around 20% of the cases they dealt with involved using English and:

> The importance of English has grown dramatically in the past five years, mainly in connection with corporate law.

Replies to a small questionnaire I distributed in one course of the "English only" group indicate that company law (or, in American English, *corporate* law)

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10 Normally the language in which the law was originally formulated is considered the authoritative one, but occasionally a translated version may be treated as the 'true version' (see Dessemontet & Ansay 1995: 11f.) as it comes closer to expressing what the legislators wanted. That this is possible serves to illustrate how difficult it can be to find translations of terms that are exactly equivalent in meaning.

is not the only field of law that has been penetrated by English[11]. Seven (out of sixteen) said they thought English was now necessary in all fields of law, mainly as a lingua franca, for example, to communicate with Greek and Swedish lawyers[12]. And three maintained that the need for English depended more on the origin of the clients than on the field, so that even if your area is, say, public law, English may still be required in a firm dealing with many foreign clients. Over half (nine out of sixteen), however, thought it did depend on the area of law. For example, two mentioned that English is rarely needed in matrimonial law, but it is in commercial law (four mentions), international law (three mentions), intellectual property, banking law and contracts (two mentions each). All these respondents said Swiss lawyers needed a good knowledge of English in at least some fields (i.e. no one said it was "not necessary").

Some of those who did not have much opportunity to use English expressed the hope that they would be able to use it more in the future, and at least one (HM) seemed to think he was missing out because he hardly ever had work requiring English:

> To use more English I will have to change my job.

So where does this pressure to use more English come from? First, of course, is the very fact that, as McArthur said (2002:115):

> The English language is used more, and more widely, than any other language, past or present.

But other factors, some of them interrelated, have certainly played a role. I describe some of these below.

4.1. Globalisation in law, business and academia

"Globalisation will continue" predicts one lawyer from the "English only" group, "and the most used language will be English". One symptom of this process is the increasing important role played by international law in national law, which Wiegand (2002a: Rz 18) refers to as "die Globalisierung des Rechts". This

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11 I am very grateful to the 16 who returned brief questionnaires. They were asked:
1. *How necessary do you think it is for Swiss lawyers today to have a good knowledge of English?*
   Possible answers were: *Necessary in all fields – Only necessary in some fields (specify) – Not necessary.*
2. *Is Swiss law being influenced by American law?*
   Possible answers were: *Yes in all fields – Yes, but only in some fields (specify) – No.*

12 This claim is made even more strongly in a recent essay by Drolshammer and Vogt (2003).

theme is taken up again in 4.2. Another is the spate of company mergers[13] that started in the nineties and continues to take place. Very often these mergers involve the mixing of business cultures and employees from different countries with different mother tongues. In this environment English has proved popular as a lingua franca and as a seemingly "neutral" language (McArthur 2002: 123). Lawyers working for such companies are, then, naturally affected by a general move to use English for business, although to what extent this influences how much English they use at work varies, as described in Section 2. Another outcome of globalisation in commerce is that multinationals are no longer bound to stay in a particular location. A factor that may have considerable influence on a company's choice of headquarters is the local legal system. In competing to offer desirable locations, countries may well find it advantageous to have English versions of the local laws that affect companies, and may even feel under pressure to change some of these laws in the bid to compete.

Another development is the growth of multinational law firms, many of which, according to Wiegand, are based on the Wall Street model. In these firms much of the legal work may be conducted in English, and this is likely to have a knock-on effect on smaller firms, which have, until recently, mainly had to use English only with English-speaking clients.

English has also become the language in which to publish scientific research in most fields (see the articles in Ammon 2001). Haarmann and Holman (2001: 247) predict that, at least in Finland:

> the language choice of doctoral dissertations, and of writings on legal problems in general, will tilt to give English the edge among the foreign languages in the future.

To what extent this happens in Swiss law faculties remains to be seen, as at the moment very few dissertations are written in English, but Wiegand (2002b: Rz 17) predicts that the Swiss literature on law will increasingly be in English[14]. Certainly for those writing on a topic likely to interest international readers, it makes sense to publish in English so as to reach as large an audience as

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13 Such mergers are not, of course, restricted just to multinational companies. For example, in 1999 the Swiss Federal Railways and Italian Railways merged their freight operations.

14 Wiegand states: "Dass, nachdem in anderen Wissenschaftsbereichen die englische Sprache schon seit langem dominiert, nunmehr auch zunehmend juristische Literatur in englisch erscheint, dass Dissertationen und Handbücher in englisch verfasst werden, ist ... eher eine Selbstverständlichkeit." (2002b: Rz 17). But at least as far as the largest law faculty in Switzerland, namely that at Zurich University, is concerned, still very few dissertations are written in English (see 2.1), so Wiegand may be overstating the case.

possible, a point often made by researchers in other fields (e.g. those surveyed in Murray & Dingwall 1997). Law has, however, been more resistant than many fields to these global trends, as noted in section 3.1.

4.2. The influence of international law and international institutions

Switzerland is party to many international treaties and agreements, as well as a member of many international organisations, including, at long last, the United Nations. For the Swiss lawyers directly involved in negotiating new agreements or working on committees to revise existing international law, proficiency in English is clearly an advantage not only so as to be able to use the language as a lingua franca, but also because so much international law today, unlike one hundred years ago, is formulated in English. Similarly, English is very often in practice the main working language of many international institutions like the World Trade Organisation or the International Chamber of Commerce.

Another aspect of the internationalisation of law affects, however, a larger number of legal professionals, namely the tendency for national law to adopt and implement international law. Global laws that can take precedence over national laws or even supplant some are on the increase. Examples are the rules of the World Trade Organisation or the Uncitral Model Law on International Arbitration.

This has resulted in an ongoing process of unification of laws throughout the world, fostering more similarity between the legal systems in different countries (Wiegand 2002a), although it is unlikely that these differences will ever disappear completely. What it does mean for the practising lawyer, though, is that international law may, in some circumstances, even be relevant for local cases. The infiltration of international law into national law in Switzerland necessarily brings English with it in its wake, a fact that some of the respondents to my survey also commented on.

4.3. Europeanisation of law

The internationalisation of law is taking place at both a global and a regional level, leading some experts to talk about the regionalisation of law. Switzerland, even though it is not yet a member of the European Union, belongs regionally, of course, to Europe. It has made various moves to harmonise its laws with those of the EU, as well as negotiate bilateral agreements. These are having considerable impact on Swiss law, as SW

pointed out in 2.2.3. For the Swiss lawyers involved in implementing these agreements, English may well serve both as a lingua franca and as an important medium for understanding legal texts.

4.4. Americanisation of law

In response to the question "Is Swiss law being influenced by American law?" two (out of sixteen) of my informants said "yes, in all fields", eleven said "yes, but only in some fields", and 18% said "no". One mentioned a plan "to implement the institution of "forum non conveniens" in Swiss and European law", which would affect procedural law and a court's right to decline jurisdiction. Another listed: liability law (also mentioned by four others), including the notion of "due diligence", the form of contracts, and the law regulating accounting and money laundering. Yet another specified internaticnal traffic, banking, and tax evasion. The latest example, according to one, is "the pending revision of the Swiss criminal statutes" to deal with terrorism. One informant claimed, however, that US and Swiss law are:

> ...two completely different systems. Therefore, and as most Swiss lawyers are not familiar with US law, the US influence on Swiss law is minimal.

And another maintained:

> American law is influenced by European law as common law's reliance on precedence will prove too complex to keep pace with the change and increasing complexity of modern law.

These, though, are very much minority views. Most of my informants did think, like Wiegand (1998, 2002a,b), that Swiss law is being influenced by American law, one even going so far as to say:

> we are not far away from a more or less unfriendly take-over by rules and habits that do not belong to our continental (and Roman) legal tradition.

One informant maintained that the US influence is largely indirect and the impact of EU law is greater. Indeed it is difficult to identify the source of influence in many cases, but Wiegand (1998, 2002a, 2002b) discusses various ways in which he believes American law has influenced and is likely to continue influencing international, EU and Swiss law. Many new laws at the international level have adopted, he claims, American legal concepts and methods of legislation, for example, the Uncitral Model Laws on International Credit Transfers and on Arbitration. Even EU law has taken on board some US legal practices, such as the technique of supplying definitions in the first

part of the formulation of a law and in contracts[15]. At the national level too, Swiss law-makers have sometimes followed American models recently, e.g. in drawing up the law to do with the Swiss Stock Exchange which came into force in 1995 or in legislation on money laundering.

As Kaplan (2001: 17) remarks in connection with countries adopting American sports like baseball:

> It is not merely the game that has penetrated Japan. Rather, the whole panoply of activities connected with the game has also been adopted. ... By a similar process, the introduction of any new technology carries with it the language in which the technology was developed; thus the spread of technology facilitates the spread of English if (as is often the case) the technology arose in an English-speaking polity.

Similarly, in law, where the American way has had an impact, it is likely that the English language will also make itself felt. Thus, some concepts may not be translated, e.g. the notion of *due diligence* or *escrow agreement* or commercial concepts like *leasing, franchising* or *asset-backed securities*. If such terms are translated, the English original may still be frequently used, at least in oral discussions. Wiegand (2002b: Rz 5) comments on this process as follows:

> In den USA werden Vertriebs- oder Finanzierungsmodelle entwickelt, die sich dort als erfolgreich erweisen. Sie werden dann aus betriebswirtschaftlichen Erwägungen übernommen, und zwar inklusive des dazugehörigen juristischen "Ueberbaus". Dies gilt nicht nur für die Terminologie, sondern auch für die rechtliche Konzeption ...

It may seem that American law mainly has an influence in the areas of commercial and financial law. But its impact is more far-reaching than this, including:

- Having a function as a trend-setter in the fields of law concerning not only banking and commerce but also new technologies, such as the Internet, where some terms just "can't be translated", as one informant said.
- Having so-called long-arm reach. This means US courts tend to accept jurisdiction for cases with which the US has little to do in reality, so that Swiss lawyers may find themselves having to fight cases on fairly local Swiss issues in the US courts (as would have, for example, been the case if Thomas Borer, the former Swiss Ambassador to Germany, had carried

15 "All over Europe, lawyers impressed by their American education or influenced by patterns used by their American counterparts, have adopted the American style of drafting contracts." Wiegand (1996: 139).

out his threat to sue a Swiss newspaper in the US[16]). The "Nazi gold" actions against Swiss banks and other institutions masterminded by Ed Fagan and his colleagues provide other examples.

- Making Swiss professional groups, such as doctors, pay more attention to questions of liability and notions of "informed consent" as patients and other consumers stand up for their rights.
- Raising companies' awareness of stronger notions of product liability and the fear of being sued in the USA, where sometimes high punitive damages are awarded.
- Leading many drafters of contracts to write more detailed contracts to take care of more contingencies. One respondent to my survey pointed out that defining legal terms is not common in Swiss contracts. Another said that the structure of contracts now often reflects Anglo-American principles.
- Possibly even influencing the implementation of Swiss law in dealing with terrorist suspects and deciding whether to extradite them or not in the aftermath of September 11, 2001.
- Encouraging many Swiss lawyers to study for a "masters" or similar degree in the USA. Indeed, Wiegand (2002b: Rz 7) claims this may even be a requirement for employment in law firms set up according to the Wall Street model. Study in the US, of course, reinforces the whole pattern of influence, as these lawyers are then trained in the US approach to law, and most bring back US legal concepts to Switzerland on their return.

Some aspects of American law, e.g. restricting "insider trading" and ensuring good "corporate governance" in companies, may have been well worth introducing as similar concepts were not available in Swiss law. How much English remains part and parcel of these new areas of law, e.g. in the persistence of English terminology, will depend partly on other developments, such as the globalisation of law firms. Other aspects of the US legal system, Wiegand (2002b) and some of my respondents argue, should not, at any cost, become part of the Swiss system because they do not fit in with Swiss (and European) legal principles. Examples are the "discovery procedure" and the handling of costs in certain types of liability cases, property law and some aspects of contract law. Wiegand sees a strengthening of regional law in Europe as one way for Switzerland to ensure that only "desirable"

16 Thomas Borer is now threatening to sue various German papers in Dallas, Texas, the home town of his wife, according to the NZZ am Sonntag (8.12.02: 9).

Americanization of Swiss law takes place. In Switzerland, of course, such a claim is controversial, but Switzerland's future stand on Europe, and Europe's stand on the USA will certainly affect the degree of Americanization of the Swiss (and European) legal systems in future.

5. Conclusions

To answer the question posed in the title to this paper, "English in Switzerland: is it legal?", it is clearly legal in the sense that, in most circumstances, speaking, writing, and using English for all kinds of purposes in Switzerland is not forbidden by law. "Freedom of language" is at least implied in Article 16 of the Swiss federal constitution (see Dessemontet & Ansay 1995: 11f.). Felber (2001), however, reports on a recent government decision to ensure that regulations are written in one of the three official Swiss languages and not in English:

> Das Bundesgericht hält die Eidgenössische Kommunikationskommission (ComCom) dazu an, ihre Verfügungen künftig in einer helvetischen Amtssprache zu verfassen und dafür nicht mehr die englische Sprache zu verwenden.

Thus, the use of English for legal purposes is restricted in Switzerland. But, to continue this play on words, some of the English used in Switzerland is legal English. In this second sense, then, English in Switzerland may even become increasingly legal and the signs are that it will. The proportion of Swiss lawyers who need English for their work appears to be growing, and looks likely to continue to grow. However, the nature of law means that, unlike in some other forms of business in Switzerland (see, e.g. Franzen 2001 and Stotz 2001), the majority of lawyers practising in Switzerland will continue to conduct most of their business in local Swiss languages. But a good command of English legal language and concepts is likely to become an even more valuable asset for Swiss lawyers setting out on their career paths, and they will help English in Switzerland to become even more legal.

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Swiss English teachers and Euro-English: Attitudes to a non-native variety

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Englisch hat sich in den letzten 20 Jahren zur grössten Lingua Franca in Europa entwickelt und wird wahrscheinlich von einem grösseren Prozentsatz der Bevölkerung verwendet als in Indien oder West-Afrika, wo bereits regionale Varietäten des Englischen entstanden sind. Corpus-basierte Studien über die englische Sprache als Lingua Franca in Europa sind bereits durchgeführt worden, und bis in ein paar Jahren können wir mit Beschreibungen des 'Euro-Englischen' rechnen. Während die präzise linguistische Beschreibung dieses Phänomens noch aussteht, haben wir eine Untersuchung über die Einstellung von Schweizer Englisch-Lehrkräften zum 'Euro-Englisch' sowie zu den möglichen Veränderungen, die eine nicht-native Varietät des Englischen mit sich bringen könnte, durchgeführt. Unsere Fragebögen wurden von einer repräsentativen Auswahl von 253 Schweizer Englischlehrern beantwortet. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass entgegen den Erwartungen Englisch-Lehrkräfte mit englischer Muttersprache einer nicht-nativen Variante gegenüber toleranter eingestellt sind als Nicht-Muttersprachler. Ein Wechsel zum 'Euro-Englisch' als Zielsprache würde aber in den Augen vieler Englisch-Lehrkräfte eine Veränderung in Bezug auf Fehlerbehandlung und Prüfungskriterien bedingen, da heute meistens viel Wert auf die Unterschiede zwischen nativem und nicht-nativem Englisch gelegt wird.

1. Introduction

The number of non-native speakers of English in the world is somewhere between 450 and 1350 million (Crystal 1997). With the total number of native speakers estimated at under 350 million, English is clearly spoken by many more non-native than native speakers[1]. In other words, English has within a relatively short time become a language used by far more bilingual and multilingual than monolingual speakers, with consequences for the language that are both predictable and unpredictable. One predictable consequence is that, as the number of L2 speakers of English increases, the use of English as a lingua franca will become ever more common.

In discussions of what has come to be known as World English, Global English or English as an International Language, Kachru's designations of *inner circle* (for countries where English is spoken as the main L1, e.g. in the U.S. or Australia), *outer circle* (for countries where English is officially used for intranational purposes, e.g. in India or Nigeria) and *expanding circle* (for countries where English is widely studied as a foreign language, e.g. in China

1 Non-native to native speaker ratios for English are estimated at anywhere between 2 to 1 and 4 to 1 (Seidlhofer 2002b).

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or Switzerland) are frequently used to refer to the varying roles played by English (Kachru & Nelson 2001:13). In outer circle countries, which tend to be former colonies, English plays an institutionalized role in education, law, and government and is therefore actually only used by certain strata of the population. This long and widespread use of English has led to relatively stable and 'standardizing' (Crystal 1995) varieties such as Nigerian English, Hong Kong English or Indian English, which recently have achieved some degree of recognition through codification.

However, the outer circle countries are no longer the only places where English is used as a lingua franca. In the last 20 years, as the nations of Europe have grown closer politically, English has also started to take on a new role here. As Graddol (2001:47) points out, "English is now more widely spoken [in Europe] than in many of the former British colonies .... Furthermore, there is a serious debate about whether English has already become, or should become, the lingua franca of Europe".

2. European multilingualism and a new variety of English

As multilingual Europe grows and new links are forged, communication in English is becoming increasingly common. According to the most recent Eurobarometer survey (2001:82-86), 32% of the continental EU population knows English well enough to hold a conversation in it, making English the leading foreign language in the EU, followed at considerable distance by French (11%), German (8%) and Spanish (5%). In fact, up to 80% of the population of some northern European countries (NL, S, DK) now say they can speak English conversationally, although the figures for southern Europe are much lower (around 18-28% for I, P and E). The Eurobarometer results also reveal that EU residents regard English as the most useful language to know, with the language receiving 80-90% of the vote not only among residents of Scandinavia but also among those of Spain, France and Greece. Perhaps most telling of all, however, are the generational differences within European countries: an earlier survey revealed, for example, that the proportion of French youth (aged 15-24) claiming to speak English is 5.5 times higher than that of their compatriots over the age of 54 (Graddol 2001:49). It therefore seems fairly clear that English will increasingly predominate as the main foreign language in Europe for the next 30-40 years at least.

The use of English among younger Europeans is high due both to its prevalence in popular culture and sports and to its accessibility. Over the past

50 years English has supplanted French and German as the first foreign language in almost all European schools, and has even become compulsory in a third of them (Truchot 2002). A further contributing factor to its increasingly widespread use among younger adults is that English instruction is becoming longer due to its introduction in primary schools, where "early learning of languages has benefited English almost exclusively" (Truchot 2002:8).

Two principal domains of English use as a lingua franca in Europe are in scientific communication and business. The education systems in Europe, particularly at the university level, are in the process of becoming more mutually compatible, with the result that English is becoming more prevalent not only as the lingua franca of research but also of instruction (cf. Ammon 2001). It should therefore surprise no one that EU research programmes are administered completely in English.

In business, English has always been important in US-dominated multi-nationals, but even among merging European firms with no US or British parent companies (e.g. ABB, Aventis, Novartis, Alcatel), English is frequently chosen as the company language. The reasons for this are at least fourfold: a high percentage of employees can be counted upon to know English; English appears to be a neutral choice for many European companies; English opens up communication with the rest of the world; English is currently prestigious. As Truchot provocatively remarks, "What gives English its status ... is not so much its utilitarian function as the prestige attached to it and the social role attributed to it" (Truchot 2002:21).

Even at EU headquarters in Brussels, where one would expect a model of European multilingualism, there is widespread official use of English, especially with the widening of the EU. Dollerup reports that French is used extensively by permanent staff among themselves, but English is often used as a lingua franca in working groups: "All told English is slowly but surely gaining ground as the major working language at meetings, formally as well as informally", with each expansion further strengthening the position of English in Brussels (1996:35). Brussels neatly exemplifies the paradox of a continental European variety of English. On the one hand, there is the traditional European ideal of national identity embodied in one language and culture represented by rules guaranteeing the use of all members' languages; on the other, there is a new political will to unify and communicate, even if that means favouring one language – with the multitude of non-European values it has come to symbolize - over all others.

The case for the existence of English as a European lingua franca has thus been made[2]; the question of whether it is a stabilizing variety of English and, if so, what this variety is like, remain to be answered.

3. Describing Euro-English[3]

What might a European variety English be like? Projects aimed at collecting and analyzing samples of intra-European English have been launched in the last few years, but a linguistic description still lies some distance in the future. Seidlhofer and colleagues from the University of Vienna are working on the compilation of the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE), a corpus of spoken English. James (2000) also mentions a pilot project on the English used as a lingua franca by German, Italian, Friulian and Slovenian speakers in the Alpine-Adriatic region. Finally, here in Switzerland, a major study of Pan-Swiss English (the English used as a lingua franca by German-, French- and Italian-speaking Swiss), was inaugurated in 2001[4]. These projects have been undertaken in the belief that extensive use of English as a lingua franca in Europe is leading to the emergence of one or more endonormative indigenous varieties that, given adequate research, can be described and, if desired, codified and taught using appropriate instructional materials (Seidlhofer 2001c).

In the absence of a description, we can still speculate with some degree of certainty as to how Euro-English probably differs from native speaker varieties. Crystal (1995:362) points out that countable/uncountable distinctions present problems for non-native users of English with a range of L1s, allowing the prediction that forms such as *an advice* and *advices* or *an information* and *informations* will turn up in Euro-English data. Seidlhofer (2002b:19) reports

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2 The fact that Europe is embracing English as never before does not, of course, mean that Europe is about to become a monolingual English-speaking area. As House argues,

"Paradoxical as this may seem, the very spread of English can motivate speakers of other languages to insist on their own local language for identification, for binding them emotionally to their own cultural and historical tradition. There is no need to set up an old-fashioned dichotomy between local languages and English as the 'hegemonic aggressor': there is a place for both, because they fulfil different functions.... Using English as a lingua franca in Europe does not inhibit linguistic diversity, and it unites more than it divides, simply because it may be 'owned' by all Europeans – not as a cultural symbol, but as a means of enabling understanding" (2001:84).

3 The term Euro-English was first used to denote the particular register of English spoken by bureaucrats in multinational discussions in Brussels, but is also used to denote the emerging variety of English spoken as a lingua franca by EU residents.

4 The Pan-Swiss English project, supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation, is being carried out by the English departments at the universities of Bern and Fribourg.

that preliminary data reveals Euro-English communication to be unhampered by certain non-native forms normally considered to be errors. Such 'errors' include dropping the –s from third person present tense verbs, using the relative pronouns *who* for things (e.g. *a book who*) and *which* for people (e.g. *a friend which*), and omitting definite and indefinite articles where they are obligatory in native speaker language use.

We can also predict that Euro-English speakers will regularly use structures like *I know him for a long time* (instead of *I have known him ...*) or *if there would have been more Polish voters* (instead of *if there had been*), or *the situation gets worse* (instead of *is getting worse*) because such usage can be regularly heard on international radio or television from extremely articulate European speakers of English. Word order differences, particularly those involving adverbs and objects, can also be predicted to exist in Euro-English, as can the use of apparently English loan words (or 'pseudo-transfers'), such as *handy*, *fitness* and *dancing* in Switzerland, which have different meanings for British or American users.

On a more subtle level, as Görlach (1999) points out, a European variety might differ from English as a native language (ENL), not due to violation of ENL rules, but to relative overuse or underuse of certain syntactic patterns. Thus, for example, Euro-English speakers might tend to say *they have the possibility* rather than *they can*, or *already last year* instead of *as early as last year*.

4. Euro-English and the native-speaker monopoly in English Language Teaching (ELT)

If Euro-English were one day to become a recognized, standardizing variety of World English, would it be a target language to be taught in European schools? And, if this were the case, how might English teaching have to change? These are among the questions that arise as work on the description of Euro-English progresses.

The target language where English is taught as a foreign language (EFL) is today almost exclusively an idealized form of some ENL variety, usually British or American English. Learners are corrected when they deviate from ENL usage; test results usually reflect how close learners come to ENL competence; teachers monitor learners speaking in groups, noting mistakes that go unnoticed by the learners themselves, but which 'might impede

communication with native speakers'. In Europe as elsewhere, the focus of English teaching

> ... has so far remained very much on 'cumulative' proficiency (becoming better at speaking and writing English as native speakers do) and on the goal of successful communication with native speakers and for some levels, approximating native-like command of the language. (Seidlhofer 2002b:13)

Not only do teaching materials around the world take ENL as their model, but they also largely represent English as communication between two native speakers or between native and non-native speakers. Despite its prevalence in the real world, communication in English between two non-native speakers is for the most part ignored[5]. This is quite possibly the result of a long tradition in linguistics and applied linguistics that makes the native speaker the measure of all things. Native speaker culture, furthermore, regularly provides the content or context for English lessons.

If Euro-English were accorded primacy or even co-primacy with ENL in European schools, however, authentic native-speaker language and culture, which are key selling points in ELT today, would have to be reconsidered, relativized and re-packaged. As Graddol (2001:51) notes:

> The European experience represents a radically new context for English as a second language, both in terms of Europe's own cultural legacies regarding the learning of languages and in terms of the functions which English is expected to serve.

Thus, with a considerable effort of imagination, we can envisage a (partly idealized) standard variety of Euro-English as the target language in European classrooms, embodied in authentic conversations and written communication between competent L2 speakers with the odd ENL speaker thrown in for color. European and other non-Anglophone countries would provide the situational background, and strong emphasis might be placed on accommodation to a variety of Euro-English accents and speech styles.

One factor that makes it difficult to imagine Euro-English as a future target language is the current dominance of ENL speakers in English language teaching. In addition to being the key actors in course books, native speakers dominate international English teaching journals, teaching materials production and EFL examinations. Above all, native speakers are used to being authorities on what is and what is not English, and understandably find it extremely difficult to relinquish the long-held and privileged position of being arbiters of normal or correct usage. As can be imagined, non-native English

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5 This is not the case in some teaching materials for international Business English.

teachers are at a distinct disadvantage in areas of the ELT world where a 'perfect' command of ENL is assumed to be necessary, and may thus enjoy less prestige and power – especially on an international level. As Medgyes writes:

> For non-natives ... a deficient command of English is a source of constant dismay. And this handicap is all-embracing: compared to native speakers, they do less well in every aspect of language performance, as a rule. ... We are in constant distress as we realize how little we know about the language we are supposed to teach (Medgyes 1994:15/40).

It is therefore interesting to speculate on the effects that the establishment of a non-native variety such as Euro-English might have on the native/non-native balance of power in ELT. Would non-native speaker teachers become the arbiters of correctness? Or would correctness lose its importance in examinations, making way for different criteria more closely connected with successful communication? Would ELT materials change to reflect more typical Euro-English communication situations? With questions such as these in mind, we decided to survey a cross-section of Swiss native-speaker and non-native speaker teachers of English.

5. The survey of Swiss English Teachers

Although it is not (yet) a Member State of the European Union, Switzerland is very much a party to the changing use of English in Europe, as many of the other articles in this volume attest. In addition, with four national and dozens of immigrant languages, Switzerland is in some ways a microcosm of Europe. With these linguistic facts in mind, we[6] decided to survey Swiss English teachers' general reception of Euro-English, as well as their attitudes to changes in native-speaker prestige and power that a larger role for Euro-English in ELT might entail.

A questionnaire (see Appendix) was sent by post and e-mail to English teachers in private and state schools in the three main language regions of Switzerland. These teachers were encouraged to copy and distribute the questionnaire to colleagues, so that single questionnaires multiplied to become clusters of questionnaires from schools around the country. In all, 253 questionnaires were returned. Of the respondents, 69.8% were from the German-speaking part of Switzerland, 21.0% from the French-speaking part and 3.6% from the Italian-speaking part, which is reasonably close to Swiss

6 The original survey was conceived by Maria Dessaux-Barberio, Jackie Gottschalk and the author.

language proportions in the general population, although Italian should have been somewhat higher[7]. Just over half, or 54.6%, were native speakers of English, 41.1% were non-native speakers, and 4.3% claimed to be full bilinguals. The high proportion of native-speaker respondents is probably due to using a large teachers' organization to channel the distribution, although it may also reflect a greater readiness on the part of native speakers to give their opinions on English. Among respondents, 44.4% were teachers of adults exclusively, while 55.6% taught children or teenagers or a mixture of age-groups.

The aims of the questionnaire were twofold. First, we wanted to find out about teachers' attitudes to changes which Euro-English might conceivably bring to ELT, and second, we wanted to explore the acceptability of certain types of Euro-English formulations. The questionnaire was therefore divided into two parts. In the first part, respondents were asked to react to six statements dealing with issues of power and authority related to Euro-English (e.g. "Learners should have more say in whether they imitate native or non-native speakers") by using a 5-point scale of responses ranging from 'strongly agree' through 'don't know' to 'strongly disagree'. In the second part, they were asked to judge whether 11 sentences, each containing one grammatical or lexical particularity of Euro-English, were either 'acceptable' or 'unacceptable' as English. Questionnaires were collated and responses subjected to statistical tests. The individual questionnaire items will be described in more detail in the next section.

6. Results: Swiss teachers' views on standards and authority in ELT

6.1. TEACHERS

Statement 1: Native speakers should respect the English usage of non-native speakers more.

Statement 1 was aimed at finding out whether teachers thought rejection of Euro-English might be a sign of disrespect for non-native-speaker English in general. Overall, a comfortable majority (67.6%) of respondents agreed with the statement, that is, they felt non-native-speaker English usage deserved more respect. However, there was a highly significant difference (t-test for

7 A further 5.6 % said that they taught in areas where both German and French are spoken

means; $p<.001$) between native and non-native speaker teachers, with native speakers agreeing with the statement much more strongly. This was a surprising outcome: we had expected the strongest agreement from non-native teachers, who might have felt looked down upon by native speaker teachers because they lack ENL competence and cultural knowledge.

Statement 2: *Non-native teachers might be in a better position than native speaker teachers to judge which varieties of English are most appropriate for their learners.*

This statement raised the issue of what kinds of linguistic competence enable teachers to choose appropriate language models for their students. Respondents had no clear preference, with approximately equal numbers agreeing and disagreeing with the statement. The item also received the highest percentage (24.5%) of 'Don't know' responses. There was no difference between native and non-native speaker teachers.

6.2. LEARNERS and LEARNING

Statement 3: *Learners should have more say in whether they imitate native or non-native speakers.*

Statement 3 was an attempt to find out how teachers felt about consulting learners on the variety of English used as a model in their classes, and in the context, raised the possibility that some learners might prefer non-ENL models. For the group of respondents as a whole, there was no clear majority, although over 10% more disagreed with the statement than agreed. More detailed analysis revealed that teachers of adults were balanced in their pro and con responses, while 60% of teachers of teenagers and children disagreed, indicating perhaps that they thought children might choose inappropriate models.

Statement 4: *I think I should spend more time getting students to communicate in English instead of spending hours trying to eradicate mistakes that are typical of Euro-English.*

This statement aimed at eliciting teachers' opinions on whether they would ideally prefer either to foster communication in Euro-English or to push learners towards a closer approximation to ENL forms through error correction. A large majority of 78.4% backed communication, and a very small proportion said they didn't know (5.7%). A number of respondents commented that they already did devote much more time to communication than to

corrective exercises. Separate analysis of native speaker and non-native speaker responses revealed that the latter agreed significantly ($p<.005$) less strongly than their native-speaker colleagues. Teachers of children and teens also agreed less strongly ($p<.005$) than those of adults.

6.3. TEACHING MATERIALS

Statement 5: *Most of the situations in my course book assume that my learners will later be speaking English with native speakers; I think there should be more situations showing non-native speakers communicating with each other.*

Statement 5 took up the issue of whether the reality of Euro-English situations should be portrayed in course books. Thus it represented a move toward greater authenticity and away from the current under-representation of lingua franca English use. The proportion of 'Don't know' responses was low this time, but only a slim majority of 51.4% agreed. A comparison of native and non-native speaker responses revealed a highly significant ($p<.001$) difference, with native speakers tending to show weak agreement and non-native speakers tending towards weak disagreement. This same division was shown when age-groups taught were compared: 60% of teachers of adults agreed, while 66% of teachers of teens disagreed. This could imply that an ENL model is more essential to English teaching in schools than in adult education.

Statement 6: *Course books convey the notion that English is either British or American, but there are actually many different possible models for English in the world and these should appear in course books in the future.*

This statement, which is related to statement 5, tried to assess teachers' opinions of the language model chosen for course books, hinting but not explicitly stating that a model such as Euro-English is worthy of serving as a model in future English instructional materials. A respectable majority (61.3%) agreed with this statement, despite the teachers' scepticism about course books showing lingua franca communication in response to statement 5. There was again a significant difference ($p<.05$) between non-native and native-speaker respondents, with non-native speakers agreeing with the statement less strongly. It is possible that this statement attracted more agreement than statement 5 because respondents were thinking of alternative

English varieties, such as Australian or Indian English, rather than Euro-English.

7. Results: Acceptability judgments

Respondents were also asked to judge whether 11 typical Euro-English sentences, shown in Table 1, were acceptable as English (A) or unacceptable as English (U).

Table 1. Euro-English items tested in the survey in order of acceptability.

	Euro-English survey items	Standard ENL version
1	That big blue Mercedes is the car of my dentist.	*That big blue Mercedes is my dentist's car.*
2	Already in 1999 they introduced "English for Kids" courses.	*They introduced "English for Kids" courses as early as 1999.*
3	Last October I had the possibility to attend a workshop on media.	*Last October I had the opportunity to attend a workshop on media.*
4	I had a ski accident and broke the right arm.	*I had a ski accident and broke my right arm.*
5	How do you call this?	*What do you call this?*
6	That's my handy ringing – excuse me.	*That's my mobile ringing – excuse me.*
7	I know him for a long time.	*I've known him for a long time.*
8	I'm in terrible shape. I should go to a fitness.	*I'm in terrible shape. I should go to a fitness centre.*
9	You should see doctor.	*You should see a doctor.*
10	I'm going by the dentist tomorrow.	*I'm going to the dentist('s) tomorrow.*
11	That's the film who I saw yesterday.	*That's the film that/which/ I saw yesterday.*

The six items above the heavy line in Table 1 were pronounced acceptable by a majority of respondents, while the five below it (7-11) were deemed 'unacceptable as English'. However, acceptability levels varied from item to item: for example, whereas 81.2% of our sample judged *That big blue Mercedes is the car of my dentist* to be acceptable, only 13.9% accepted *That's the film who I saw yesterday*. Fig. 1 illustrates the cline of acceptability levels.

What are possible explanations for these differences? One fairly obvious generalization to be made is that the sentences characterized as 'acceptable' by a majority of the respondents do not break any of the explicit grammatical rules taught in Standard English teaching materials. In contrast, sentences

7-11 do break commonly taught rules or contain easily identifiable lexical anomalies.

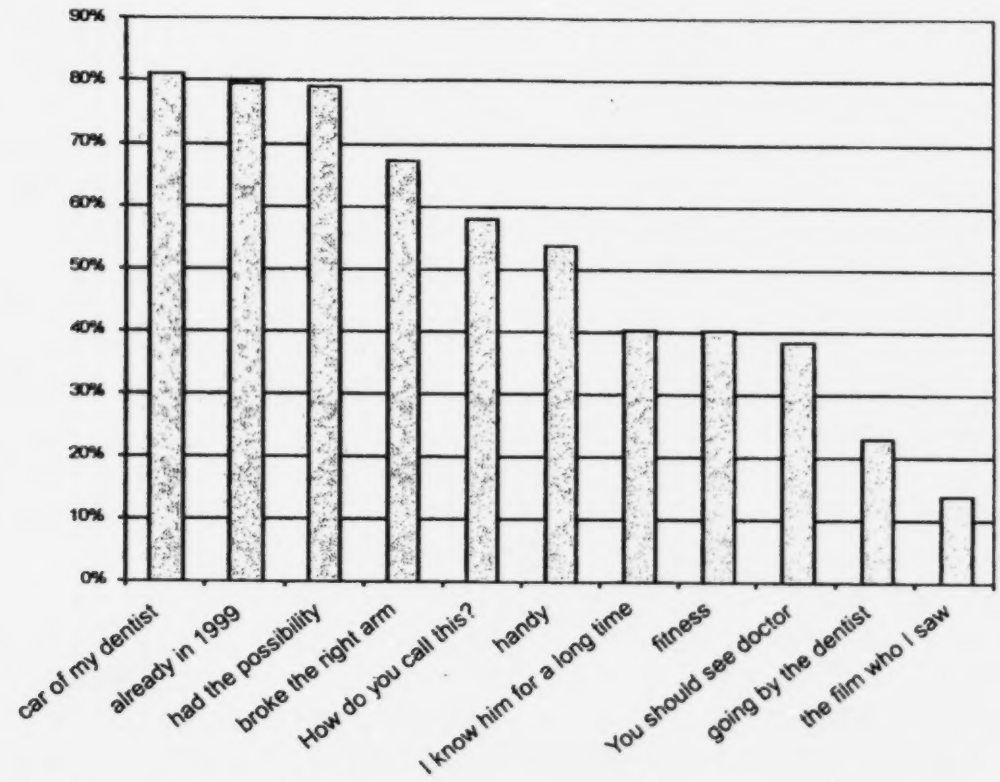

Fig. 1 Acceptability judgments (percentage acceptance)

As with the attitudes part of the questionnaire, there were also interesting differences between native and non-native speaker teachers and even between teachers from different Swiss language regions in this part. There were significant (t-test for means; $p<.05$) or highly significant ($p<.001$) differences between native and non-native speaker acceptability judgments on the six least acceptable sentences (sentences 6-11), with a higher percentage of non-native speakers pronouncing them unacceptable. Thus, whereas only 50.4% of native speakers thought sentence 9 was unacceptable, a resounding 76.5% of non-native speakers rejected it. Furthermore, sentence 6 about the ringing handy was rated acceptable by 60.3% of native speakers, but actually rejected by a majority (55.6%) of non-native speakers. While these discrepant views on acceptability may surprise at first glance, they are consistent with the main body of error evaluation research (cf. James 1998; Murray 2002) that has accumulated in the last 30 years: non-native teachers are generally less tolerant of errors than native speaker teachers.

Teachers are also notoriously influenced by the errors of their learners, and since learners with different L1s can be expected to commit different errors, we also predicted differences between the acceptability judgments of teachers working in German- and French-speaking regions of Switzerland. Judgments on four sentences (1,2,6,8) showed significant differences, with a higher percentage of teachers from French- than from German-speaking Switzerland voting to reject sentences 1, 2 and 6. Conversely, sentence 8 was acceptable to more teachers in the French-speaking area. In compiling the questionnaire we deliberately chose the sentences containing the words *handy* and *a fitness* as typical false loanwords heard in German-speaking or French-speaking Switzerland, respectively, to see whether local teachers were more or less tolerant of such non-ENL items. As Table 2 shows, a firm majority of teachers from the French-speaking region rejected *handy* (58.8%), while an even larger majority from the German-speaking area rejected *a fitness* (66.7%). Thus on the basis of these examples at least, our hypothesis that exposure to non-native features of Euro-English makes teachers more open to them appears to be confirmed.

Table 2. Differences in acceptability among teachers from the German- and French-speaking regions

	German-speaking area		French-speaking area	
	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Acceptable	Unacceptable
1. car of my dentist	87.1%	12.9%	67.9%	32.1%
2. Already in 1999	83.1%	16.9%	70.6%	29.4%
6. my *handy* ringing	57.1%	42.9%	41.2%	[redacted]
8. go to *a fitness*	33.3%	[redacted]	57.7%	42.3%

8. Discussion and comment

The teachers in our survey proved to hold fairly liberal opinions in claiming to favour communication over error-correction, and to respect less mainstream varieties of English, including non-native varieties. On the other hand, they tended to have doubts about including non-native communication situations in course books and about allowing learners to choose their language models for themselves. There were significant differences between native and non-native speaker teachers, with the latter tending to respond more conservatively, either by disagreeing with or showing less enthusiasm for statements in favour of Euro-English.

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The responses suggest that Swiss English teachers are, in principle, somewhat open to what would amount to rather fundamental changes in the subject matter they teach, but that they tend to cling to the *status quo* when it comes to concrete changes in the direction of Euro-English. Two sub-groups of teachers appear to contrast particularly strongly in their views. Native-speaker teachers of adults tend to be more open to accepting Euro-English as a target language for teaching, while non-native teachers of children and teenagers tend to reject it. The ENL model thus seems more firmly tied to English teaching in schools than in adult education.

Possible reasons for this difference are the fact that most schools teach English for a host of future purposes, none of which are very concrete. In the absence of a concrete purpose, motivation becomes a problem, which is, in turn, solved by heightening the ENL cultural content of course books for schools. A further reason is that non-native speaker teachers, who make up the vast majority of school teachers in Switzerland as elsewhere, invest a substantial amount of time developing their competence in (ENL) English and are reluctant to discount this investment. Finally, foreign language teaching at school tends to test and value what has been taught rather than what has been acquired. The consequent emphasis on accuracy relies on a codified variety to a much greater extent than does adult language teaching, which places greater emphasis on performance and communication.

As for the acceptability judgments, the sentences judged to be unacceptable by the majority of respondents represented violations of taught rules rather than possible but unusual structures. Thus, *the film who I saw*, which breaks a relative pronoun rule taught at elementary level, was rejected by nearly five times as many teachers as *the car of my dentist* or *already in 1999*, which are merely uncommon in ENL usage. Furthermore, the two false English loanwords, *handy* and *fitness,* were only rejected by majorities of teachers in regions where they are not used. I think the significance of these findings is that they indicate the way in which Euro-English will become accepted as a target language in Europe. There will not be a revolution in which all ENL-model syllabuses are suddenly revised and all ENL-based course books burned; rather, non-rule breaking Euro-English usage will increasingly find its way into listening and reading materials, which will serve as indirect models for learners' speaking and writing. This gradual infiltration by a sanitized form of Euro-English will spread from materials for adults (where it has already started) to those aimed at younger learners. At the same time, examining bodies, education authorities and, ultimately, teachers will have to re-consider

their policies with regard to structures like *I know him for a long time*, which clearly break ENL rules.

Although, as a group, the Swiss English teachers were only lukewarm about a larger role for Euro-English in ELT, they were curious about the outcome of the survey and usually very animated in their responses. Almost every questionnaire returned contained a request for results as well as several comments; a handful of respondents even attached pages of typed notes, indicating a high level of involvement. Some teachers were adamantly against teaching a European variety of English,

> No way! MTV ≠ school. It's not up to me to say what is [acceptable] or [unacceptable]; that's why there are grammar books.
>
> Why should [my students] be satisfied with some kind of 'pseudo bastardised English'?

while others had difficulty imagining English without the native speaker standard:

> When I learn a language I want to learn a very standard version. Does it help a student to learn the slang English spoken in their home country?
>
> [I'm] not sure what this new form of English is, as it no doubt comprises a multitude of incorrect English depending on the students' L1.
>
> I've never met a learner who wanted to imitate a non-native speaker.

Several seemed ready to contemplate teaching the new variety,

> I welcome the development of Euro-English ... because it confirms my growing discomfort with correcting what I call 'picayune' errors ... which do not interfere with understanding, because it confirms my belief that pronunciation is the user's own business, as long as he or she is understandable ..., [and] because it gives voice and power to the means of expression that many people are using.
>
> I am no longer sure whether [switching to Euro-English] would be so bad.

or had even started to change their teaching in accordance with findings:

> I have more or less eliminated all metaphors, idioms, etc. from my courses and only insist on correcting grammar mistakes when they inhibit understanding ... I don't put any emphasis on phrasal verbs as I find Europeans understand their synonyms better. ... I only talk about British culture as a kind of recreation for the students and try not to integrate too much into the course ... However, as most course books are UK or American culture-based, I can't always maintain my policy. I'd love to teach [Euro-English] but am not sure that our students would really accept such a course...

This last teacher is, however, very much in the minority at present, and probably not only in Switzerland.

It can seem paradoxical indeed that although the role of English in global communication is generally acknowledged, teachers and learners alike still have trouble accepting any kind of English other than the native speaker model. As Seidlhofer points out:

> "...the question ... is whether ways of thinking about English have kept pace with the rapid development in the functions of the language, whether concepts in people's heads have changed as the role of English in the world has changed." Seidlhofer 2002b:12

I would have to say that as far as Swiss English teachers are concerned, it is no longer a question. We have the answer: ways of thinking about the language itself have not kept pace with changes in concepts as to who uses English, where, when and with whom. Swiss English teachers are caught between accepting and even supporting the existence of Euro-English in the abstract, but rejecting it as a classroom target, mainly because they are at a loss as to how to answer all the practical questions that arise in connection with evaluation, syllabus criteria, and the teacher's responsibilities if ENL competence is no longer the ultimate – albeit unattainable – goal. One of our respondents spoke for many when she wrote:

> Although I agreed with the statements about accepting Euro-English I had great trouble finding the typical mistakes 'acceptable'

The shift away from the 'gold-standard' of native speaker English in ELT is still some time off. Europeans, including the Swiss, probably need to become more aware of the new functions of English in their midst before they are ready to accept anything other than an ENL target. One thing is, however, certain: if such a shift ever occurs, it will be non-native speakers of English – both learners and teachers - who decide.

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Appendix

Questionnaire for English teachers

What is ELFE and how does it affect me?

English is being learned and used around the world by more and more people. What this means is that a high percentage of communication in English (up to 80%) takes place, not between a native speaker and a non-native speaker, but between two or more non-native speakers. In Europe as in other countries, English is becoming a lingua franca - a language that people often fall back on when they have different first languages. ELFE stands for English as a Lingua Franca in Europe; some people call it "EuroEnglish".

When Spanish and French and German and Italian people communicate with each other in English, they use pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar that is somewhat different from what British or American native speakers might use. However, they understand each other very well and, in time, tend to use some of these non-nativelike forms over and over.

What we would like to know is: How do you feel about this development? How does it affect you as an English teacher? Can you imagine teaching this newly emerging form of English?

Questionnaire

Please give your opinion of the following statements about ELFE. Indicate whether you (1) Strongly agree, (2) Mostly agree (3) Don't know (4) Mostly disagree (5) Strongly disagree

1. Native speakers should respect the English usage of non-native speakers more. ____
2. Learners should have more say in whether they imitate native or non-native speakers. ____
3. Most of the situations in my course book assume that my learners will later be speaking English with native speakers; I think there should be more situations showing non-native speakers communicating with each other. ____
4. Non-native teachers might be in a better position than native speaker teachers to judge which varieties of English are most appropriate for their learners. ____
5. I think I should spend more time getting students to communicate in English instead of spending hours trying to eradicate mistakes that are typical of ELFE. ____
6. Course books convey the notion that English is either British or American, but there are actually many different possible models for English in the world and these should appear in course books in the future. ____

About you...

1. I am a __native speaker of English ___non-native speaker of English ___ other

2. Most of my students speak ❒ German ❒ French ❒ Italian ❒ _____

3. I teach ❒ adults ❒ children ❒ teenagers *(More than one choice possible.)*

Acceptable or unacceptable?

Please give your opinion of the following examples of what many Europeans say when they speak English. Indicate whether in your opinion the example is

A. Acceptable as English or U. Unacceptable as English.

(Remember, these are not students in a class but people using English as a lingua franca in their daily lives, talking to colleagues, business partners and friends.)

1. You should see doctor. _____
2. That big blue Mercedes is the car of my dentist. _____
3. I know him for a long time. _____
4. I had a ski accident and broke the right arm. _____
5. Already in 1999 they introduced "English for Kids" courses. _____
6. Last October I had the possibility to attend a workshop on media. _____
7. How do you call this? _____
8. That's the film who I saw yesterday. _____
9. I'm going by the dentist tomorrow. _____
10. That's my handy ringing, excuse me. _____
11. I'm in terrible shape, I should go to a fitness. _____

Yanaprasart, Patchareerat (2002). *Dimension socioculturelle dans la communication professionnelle – le cas du contexte franco-thaï.* Berne: Peter Lang.

«Quand on épluche la peau européenne,
on trouve le cœur thaï.» (Yanaprasart, p.121)

La didactique des langues étrangères ne peut à l'heure actuelle dans un environnement prônant échanges internationaux et diversité linguistique faire fi de la dimension socioculturelle. Dans son ouvrage, Patchareerat Yanaprasart rappelle ce constat en décrivant d'une manière efficace et avant tout pragmatique l'importance et les caractéristiques que revêt cette composante socioculturelle au sein de l'entreprise (sous forme notamment des représentations et perceptions émanant des locuteurs français et thaïlandais); elle souligne également les liens que la dimension socioculturelle tisse avec la composante linguistique et relève la politique de collaboration menée par les gouvernements français et thaïlandais.

L'ouvrage vise à susciter des réflexions sur la communication professionnelle en contexte étranger ou avec des étrangers. De ce fait, il devrait intéresser d'une part les acteurs pédagogiques dont l'enseignement doit tenir compte de la diversification des besoins en langue, notamment professionnels et, d'autre part, les partenaires de l'entreprise (chefs d'entreprise, employés) directement concernés par la dimension socioculturelle. La formation interculturelle des enseignants de langue ainsi que la sensibilisation des futurs partenaires de l'entreprise aux éventuelles problématiques de la multiculturalité en entreprise permettraient de créer les conditions favorables à une meilleure collaboration entre professionnels.

Avant de s'interroger sur la part de responsabilité accordée à la composante socioculturelle, initiatrice d'éventuels malentendus, Yanaprasart Patchareerart nous expose ainsi les finalités et le contexte de son étude.

Venons-en à ses thèses. Tout d'abord, l'environnement socioculturel est inextricablement lié à la langue et son usage. Langue et culture vont de pair[1]. Cette remarque fait figure de lapalissade mais soulève fort bien la dimension qu'opère le socioculturel en relation avec la langue. Le fait de rappeler cette

1 «La langue est une réalité sociale constitutive de la culture et la traduit par ses usages.» (Yanaprasart, p.14).

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évidence montre combien sa prise de conscience et l'action qui en découle restent du domaine de l'incomplet.

Ensuite, à travers un aperçu historique, se profile la culture nationale des Thaïlandais placée sous le signe de la multiplicité des héritages culturels et l'hétérogénéité des systèmes de valeurs propres à la société thaïe.

Elle nous dresse ainsi un portrait de la Thaïlande, dénommée «patrie des hommes libres» (p.41). Celle-ci est essentiellement caractérisée par une configuration «multiculturelle, multiconfessionnelle et multilingue» (p.42-43) et par la nature coopérative des relations franco-thaïes en matière d'éducation, d'économie et de politique.

Yanaprasart nous livre les trames de ces valeurs qui certes nous permettent de mieux saisir le mode de fonctionnement et de pensée des Thaïlandais mais qui tendent à créer un clivage généralisé occidental/oriental auquel l'auteure n'a pu échapper. Toutefois, ce portrait contribue d'une certaine manière à transmettre le système de références culturelles véhiculées par les locuteurs thaïs.

Cette composante socioculturelle serait d'après l'auteure responsable des malentendus possibles, générés par des interlocuteurs d'appartenance culturelle différente. Son analyse repose sur les expériences vécues par des interlocuteurs français et thaïs et ce dans un contexte professionnel délimité: l'entreprise.

Il s'agit d'une part de relever les *représentations* véhiculées par les interlocuteurs présentés comme «porteurs de systèmes de références» (p. 231). Ces auto- et hétéro-représentations s'inscrivent qui plus est dans une relation socialement hiérarchisée, ce qui n'est pas sans instaurer un biais non négligeable dans l'étude proposée: les employeurs sont à l'unanimité Français et les employés Thaïlandais.

Il s'agit d'autre part, dans une visée plus pragmatique, de pointer les attentes des locuteurs en matière de relations, de sillonner les difficultés rencontrées et de présenter les stratégies adoptées pour y remédier.

Yanaprasart n'aspire aucunement à dresser un «catalogue» des représentations qui prendraient des allures stéréotypées et s'avèreraient donc «réductrices, schématiques» (p. 11). Son objectif est de faire partager l'idée que ces représentations véhiculées sur l'autre peuvent en fait provenir de systèmes de références socioculturelles *différents* au sein de la structure multiculturelle de l'entreprise. La différence ne résiderait pas tant dans la manifestation des

codes de la communication, puisque l'on peut observer des comportements comparables d'une culture à une autre, mais bien dans *l'interprétation* (bien souvent d'ordre éthique) que font les acteurs des évènements langagiers et des comportements.

Nous ne partageons pas entièrement ce point de vue. Il nous semble en effet que cette interprétation n'est pas forcément l'expression d'une conscience collective. L'ouvrage a tendance à accorder à la dimension socioculturelle l'omnipotence justifiant tout malentendu selon le critère socioculturel. Certes la dimension socioculturelle jalonne notre vécu et nos actes mais tout comportement adopté n'est pas nécessairement à rattacher à cette composante. Je n'agis pas parce que tel rituel culturel me prédispose à adopter un comportement défini. J'agis en fonction de ma propre personnalité et de ma propre interprétation de la réalité. Je peux très bien être au fait des comportements que la bienséance me dicte mais en faire fi.

Tout justifier, clarifier selon des dispositions culturelles appauvrit considérablement la composante personnelle, celle qui est moteur de réflexion propre à l'individu et qui peut être dénuée de toute adéquation totale à des modes de communication verbaux ou non préétablis. Quelle est la finalité de classer les attitudes selon des critères purement culturels si ce n'est une forme de ghettoïsation passive? Il convient à notre sens de relativiser le rôle de cette composante culturelle que l'auteure voit comme primordiale.

Au centre de sa réflexion se dessine une ligne de conduite proche d'un état d'esprit. Il suffit de porter un regard sur les conclusions de l'auteure applicables au-delà du milieu professionnel et s'inscrivant dans un processus d'apprentissage interculturel (il n'y a pas d'enseignement des langues sans contenu socioculturel, connaitre et accepter la différence, prise de conscience de sa propre identité et de celle de «l'autre») pour prendre conscience que ces généralités visent l'acquisition d'une ligne de conduite.

Le mot-clé en est *interaction*. Selon l'auteure, c'est en son sein que s'élabore le processus d'apprentissage de la compétence socioculturelle. Il est difficile de dissocier dans cette optique compétence socioculturelle et compétence linguistique. L'acquisition des formes verbales, par exemple, expriment des conventions sociales (formules de politesse) qui, quant à elles, relèvent de la compétence socioculturelle. Ainsi dans une relation complémentaire, les compétences se chevauchent. Mais l'apprentissage d'une langue vivante ne saurait viser une intégration totale de l'apprenant dans le pays étranger. Une passerelle entre les deux cultures (celle de l'apprenant et celle du pays

étranger) est recherchée. L'apprenant assume alors le rôle d'intermédiaire culturel.

Cette passerelle se construit d'abord sur l'image que l'apprenant se fait du pays dont il apprend la langue. Elle repose ensuite sur la manière dont l'apprenant s'approprie la culture. Il va recourir à ses propres modèles de perception (ceux qu'il connait) pour tenter d'interpréter et d'assimiler les faits et mentalités socioculturels du pays dont il apprend la langue. Ce qui signifie que l'apprenant doit avoir pris conscience des aspects propres à sa culture et qu'il est en mesure de faire partager la perception qu'il a du monde extérieur.

On regrettera également dans le cadre de l'apprentissage interculturel la part elliptique réservée à l'analyse des fondements inhérents à la rencontre interculturelle.

En effet, en raison de la diversité des contacts culturels et de la présence quotidienne de l'élément «autre», les fondements de la rencontre avec ce qui nous est étranger se sont à l'heure actuelle modifiés: cette rencontre s'accompagne d'une sensibilité accrue pour le facteur culturel, ce qui se traduit par une sensibilité accrue aux similitudes et aux différences culturelles, une conscience plus aiguë des valeurs de sa propre culture et de ses traditions, une affirmation de sa propre conscience culturelle.

Cette revalorisation des différences culturelles suppose un changement paradigmatique pour l'apprentissage interculturel, car elle conduit immanquablement à relever le défi d'une éducation qui prenne en compte les différences culturelles. Pour l'action pédagogique sur le terrain, cela crée une situation extrêmement délicate. Les différences culturelles ne peuvent que difficilement être citées concrètement et elles restent, pour le pédagogue comme pour l'apprenant, le plus souvent diffuses et difficilement saisissables. De plus, la volonté de non discrimination, l'appui sur les valeurs ethnocentriques comme la «raison universelle», mais aussi l'enseignement de la tolérance et du respect sont autant de mots d'ordre prônés par ceux qui se destinent aux professions de l'éducation. La démarche interculturelle et ses orientations, qui met en exergue les différences entre les cultures, peut entrer en conflit avec cet ensemble de valeurs, ce qui explique certaines résistances à son égard, notamment en France.

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(avec la collaboration de Marinette MATTHEY)

***Choix de textes de français parlé. 36 extraits*, édité par Claire Blanche-Benveniste, Christine Rouget & Frédéric Sabio. Paris: Honoré Campion (coll. Bibliothèque de l'Institut de linguistique française. Les français parlés N° 5). 2002.**

Voici, pour toute la «linguistique de corpus», un outil de travail qui lui est proposé par l'équipe aixoise de recherche en syntaxe: un recueil de transcriptions de français parlé de 215 pages permettant à chacun de trouver des exemples des configurations linguistiques qu'il cherche à étudier.

Le livre s'ouvre par quelques pages présentant le projet: «faire connaitre des échantillons de français parlé par une édition sur papier, accompagnée d'un disque» (9). Un disque? Manifestement le projet a été amputé! Il n'y a pas de CD-Rom, bien que le livre y fasse plusieurs allusions. Consulté à propos de ce qui apparait comme une bévue, l'éditeur nous a fait parvenir le CD-Rom sans explications. On ne pourra donc que conseiller aux lecteurs d'en faire autant: c'est un complément indispensable pour les informations prosodiques qui ne sont pas indiquées du tout dans les transcriptions.

Les conventions de transcription sont clairement assujetties aux projets de l'équipe aixoise: étudier les structures syntaxiques des productions orales. Nous ajouterons que le choix des genres oraux représentés participent eux aussi du projet aixois: cinq extraits produits par des enfants (de 5 à 11 ans); dix-sept extraits traitant de métiers divers ou d'activités avec explications, descriptions et parfois anecdotes (l'un de ces extraits rapporte sept messages laissés sur un répondeur téléphonique); neuf récits; cinq témoignages (dont trois extraits d'émissions radiophoniques). L'ensemble constitue un texte peu conversationnel: il y a dans tous les cas un locuteur principal autour duquel s'organise l'événement langagier. Il y a même quelques extraits complètement monologaux. Cela n'est pas en soi un défaut et limite simplement quelque peu la diversité des études qui peuvent venir s'alimenter en exemples à ce *Choix de textes*.

Les extraits semblent avoir été réunis sans soucis d'une quelconque représentativité sociale. Dans leur présentation, les auteurs mettent en évidence quelques matérialisations des effets de l'observation et de l'enregistrement sur le style utilisé: il y a effectivement quelques productions relevant de ce style contextuel que les auteurs appellent *l'oral soigné*. D'une manière générale, on regrettera que les acquis de la sociolinguistique semblent ici négligés: dans la présentation les auteurs s'étonnent de voir la norme mieux respectée par une journaliste que par la personne qu'elle interviewe (une médecin), ou de

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trouver une secrétaire plus normative qu'un professeur (qui est d'ailleurs une femme!): au pays de Bourdieu, on s'étonne de cet étonnement!

Reste pour moi l'essentiel: la possibilité que nous offre ce livre de mêler découvertes de l'être humain et découvertes linguistiques. Il arrive ainsi que les personnes interviewées, en plus de nous offrir d'excellents exemples des configurations linguistiques que nous recherchons, nous offrent le privilège d'une rencontre...

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